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LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
(*At the age of 68*)

For Jacob de Haas
Teacher and Companion throughout years
of struggle in a great Cause.
1912 – 1924
With Every good wish
Louis D. Brandeis

Jan. 1. 1924

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

With Special Reference to his Contributions to
JEWISH AND ZIONIST HISTORY

With full text of his Addresses
delivered from 1912 to 1924

BY

JACOB DE HAAS

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THEODOR HERZL: A Biographical Study

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To

JULIAN W. MACK

IN FELLOWSHIP OF SERVICE,
UNDERSTANDING AND RESPONSE
TO HIGH JEWISH IDEALS

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CHAPTER I

CONTEMPORARY JEWISH HISTORY

I

By the end of the nineteenth century the fragile fabric of Jewish life founded upon eighteen centuries of European experience was in process of disintegration. Half a century of individualized immigrations from west European lands to England and America, and twenty years of mass migration from eastern Europe, largely to the United States, had drawn Jewry out of its historic tracks, and led it into new and unbeaten paths. The first quarter of the present century may therefore be properly regarded as an era in Jewish history. This era is more singular and noteworthy in that neither of the two salient characteristics that distinguish it were anticipated signposts on the long road that Jewry has traversed through the centuries.

A mobile people, who in flashes of governmental tolerance settled, thrived and suffered during eighteen centuries in all the states of Europe, and of whom moreover driblets drifted to the furthest reaches of civilization, the real periphery of the Jews was the coast of Europe. In all essentials they were a European people. Their center of gravity was in Europe. Two-thirds of the race lived east of the Danube. The mass power created by this congestion of eight million Jews was balanced by the preponderance of wealth, education, freedom and political experience possessed by two million Jews in

western Europe. East European Jews in their westward settlement refreshed the well-springs of tradition and religious sentiment; western Europe forced eastward its own understanding of scientific enlightenment, social attitudes and liberal religious concepts together with its large financial succor for the distressed and persecuted. West European Jewry did more than that. It sent its charity, culture and languages to northern Africa and Asia Minor. It peopled of its own flesh and blood the newly founded Jewries of the Far East, Australia and the British and French possessions. The oriental Jews, fewer in number, their communities widely separated, holding fast to their age-old habits, were merely the vassals of west European culture and philanthropy. The social outlook, political circumstances, economic views, and religious tendencies of the Jews everywhere were therefore dictated by European conditions, environment and traditions.

Not only was the life of each Jewry colored by its specific environment making for German, French, British, Russian or Galician Jews, but this coloration had been brushed upon a patina which made the Jews the Europeans par excellence. The descendants of the Jews expelled from Angevin England in the thirteenth century became the Polish Jews of Keidan, and were among those who replenished the Jewries of western Europe during the nineteenth century. The descendants of those Jews who in the seventh century built Spanish cities like Seville and Toledo, are the Dutch, Hamburg and English Jews of our own times. The overwhelming mass of east European Jews are descended from the German Jews who were forced eastward in the fourteenth century; the

Bohemian and the Hungarian Jews are an admixture of adventurers of all the Germanic and Mediterranean Jewish settlements. Even the Constantinople Jews are an amalgam of Iberian and German Jews rather than direct descendants of the oriental Jews. If then there was in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century a group that had a distinct flair for Europeanization it was the oft-despised, constantly calumniated and almost always oppressed Jews.

To all of these Jews the two Americas stood as immense receptacles for the human overflow created by persecution. The southern continent, as had been the case after the expulsion from Spain, was an indistinct area for organized and individualized settlement which drew upon European sources for all things. North America and the United States in particular was the larger, the better known, the nearer and the more acceptable land for settlement. That the sea spelled separation in a physical sense was clear to all European Jews. That made the distant western journey more painful. That, however, settlement west of the Atlantic would create something new in Jewish experience was a thought in no wise even remotely contemplated by those who earnestly and assiduously encouraged the flight of hundreds of thousands from the lands of persecution to the land of political freedom and religious tolerance. Nor at the date that begins this era, was there much reason for envisaging the consequences of the transformation.

The westward moving hosts, whether we consider the smaller German settlements that began in the forties, or the larger east European settlement which began in the eighties, having gained a foothold in the new world sought

in all things—except political allegiance—to maintain their European identity. Europe had through long centuries become a motherland of Israel and it was but natural that the new settlers in America should exhibit some of that excessive zeal for traditions, habits and customs by which all colonials attest their devotion to the parent land though they often designedly separate themselves by wide stretches of ocean. Of the Jewish movement to America it can be said with positiveness that it was dictated by only one basic consideration which however had many forms, persecution. All these immigrants could easily become "good Americans" despite their experiences at Castle Garden or Ellis Island. For they brought with them an aversion to the political *status quo* in the lands from which they had been driven. Their thirst for republicanism, democracy and freedom enabled them mentally to anticipate legal naturalization, an act often postponed for years, because its acquisition involved form and contact with bureaucracy. One can still detect in the insistence upon the absolute secularization of education the traditions of Jewish experience in central Europe, while the intense social democratic leaning of a later wave of immigration his its origin in east European suffering. But these immigrants did bring with them the life, habits, customs and communal experiences which, accumulating during centuries, had become fixed and characteristic traditions of European Jewries.

Reform Judaism in America therefore proudly exhibited the scars of the battle which had been waged in Germany for the cause. Its teachers were German by birth, their ideology was Germanic in form, part of the religious press they created was published in German, and

there were even in 1900 Southern Reform Jews who employed German as a second or subordinate Holy Tongue. There are Jews, in the third generation of settlement, who still employ Hanoverian, Platt Deutsch, Posen, Rhenish or Bavarian terms of endearment or anger in their family circles.

Jews everywhere yield traditions slowly. Spanish in small degree still has its place in the rituals of the Amsterdam and London Sephardim though all contact with the Iberian Peninsula was lost in the seventeenth century. It is therefore no matter of wonder that the east European Jews congregating in the larger American cities sought to express their lives in familiar terms. The orthodox brought their synagogue formulas and their rabbis from Europe. The radicals, who were the first to recognize the political importance of a mass settlement of Jews in free America outvying the orthodox in their loyalty to home traditions, brought not only their economic teachers and *isms* from Europe, but by intense application to a tongue foreign to their leaders, gave unique vogue, respectability and popularity to Yiddish. There was therefore a real if ignored breach between the Americanized Jews and their relatives in Europe in 1900. The former were Anglicizing and Yiddishizing in speech. The latter were either loyal to their German tongue or in Russo Poland allowing Russian to become their dominant speech with Hebrew as the new literary vehicle.

In Europe Jewish religious life was organized and therefore communal rather than congregational. Frontiers divided the groups. Organizations gave form to the secular life of the Jews, cultural attitudes were sharply defined, and leaders had more than local recognition.

Wealth, prestige, tradition and political influence gave authority to west European Jewry. In the United States to the contrary, although there was a limited centrifugal authority both for the reform and modern orthodox ways of Judaism, the parochial or congregational interest was the leading factor in Jewish life. This made for the dominance of the articulate rabbinate, the striking variability in emphasis on dogma, and localization of personal interest. Except in charitable work the Jewish laity had practically no opportunity to exercise its talents.

Hence side by side with the three religious groups, reform, conservative and traditional European orthodoxy, and the large mass of de-religionized radicals, there evolved the specifically American type of Jewish organization, the fraternal insurance orders, which to satisfy the desire for an expression of idealism added, in ritual and charter, some general altruistic purpose. The Independent Order B'nai B'rith, the first of the "orders," was of German Jewish origin. All other Jewish fraternal orders were its imitators and it is possible to trace the gradual Americanization of the east European settlers in the names successively selected for this type of organization. The "fraternal orders" were the first practical efforts of conservative Jews to provide centers for the mixed multitude of immigrants accidentally thrust together in the large cities.

European Jewry was clearly influencing American Jewry in 1900. American Jewry at that date was however without influence on European Jewry. Not a single American Jewish name had become a household word in Europe.

Yet within twenty-five years, as will be presently set

forth in some detail, the hegemony of Israel, an accepted phrase for authority in Jewry, passed from Europe to the United States. This fact constitutes one salient phase of this notable era in Jewish affairs.

II

If the transfer of Jewish authority from Europe to America was wholly unanticipated in 1900, it is equally true that except for a handful of devoted associates there was no belief or expectancy among the two hundred delegates who comprised the first Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, in August 1897, that the reward of their labor would be the creation of the legalized Jewish Homeland in Palestine within twenty-five years of their assembly. And if as many as ten men were so optimistic in 1897, their number must have seriously diminished by the end of 1904, when the demise of Theodor Herzl was beginning to be seriously felt.

Zionism as an organized expression of Jewish aspiration, idealism, and yearning was the youngest of Jewish movements. It had the enthusiastic support of individual west European Jews adjusting their new politico-national experiences to Jewish problems and the more vague, but intense good will of east European masses who beheld in it a resurgence of hope, and a concrete demonstration of their will to restoration. None of all these ideas met with the approval of "solid" men, East or West. The advent and progress of Zionism therefore witnessed an intense and persistent struggle over ideas rather than facts. Distant horizons, towards which no bark, however frail, was yet sailing, were the subject of acrimonious debate rather than practical and immediate objectives.

Into this polemic Theodor Herzl had thrust two practical and palpable issues—an agreement with Russia to help finance mass settlement in Palestine, and an agreement with England for a possible mass settlement in East Africa. His death in the midst of this confused debate left the Zionist movement without authoritative leadership. Under the pressure of contending ideas the organization split. Those who considered themselves wholly emancipated from tradition and therefore advanced thinkers, followed Israel Zangwill into his Jewish Territorial Organization which sought a politically guaranteed territory wherever it could be found, but which floundered and lost its puissance in the mazes of the Galveston experiment which theoretically had nothing in common with Territorialism. The mass of Zionists on the other hand guided by their local leaders everywhere fell back on the "time-marking" policy of practical colonization in Palestine and the spread of national cultural ideas in Europe and elsewhere. Thus the Zionist unity was broken and the political objectives of the movement seriously blunted.

Therefore whilst events had prepared for a determining change in Jewish and Zionist affairs, on neither side of the Atlantic was there in the first years of the present century a single individual who imagined that the power in the "saving remnant" of Israel had so definitely passed to America that it would be the advance guard of the half-accepted Zionist idea. On the contrary it was well understood that Zionism with its eastward outlook, its anti-assimilationist teachings, its pro-nationalism could only obtain a fringe of supporters in a land that was being fearfully observed as a "melting pot" of traditions. That organized American effort, political influence, financial

power and the keen faith and zeal of American Jews would play the master stroke in the restoration of Zion, was beyond the imagination of any Jew in 1900 or even a decade later.

III

The incident that changed the history of world Jewry was the Kishineff Massacre of 1903. In perspective its details seem no worse than those which characterized any number of the outrages that occurred in the two previous decades. But its tale fell on the sensitive ears of Theodor Herzl and resulted in his remarkable confrontation of its author, von Plehve, and in his ready acceptance of the offer of the British Government of an asylum in East Africa[1] for persecuted Jews.

The same evil story of Kishineff came like a thunderclap upon the Jews of America. More than a decade had intervened since the last outbreak of Russian fury and in that period the Germanic wing of American Jewry had grown in wealth, position and in its recognition of the fact that the striking congestion of immigrants in the seaboard cities had to be handled by measures other than charity. Therefore distribution agencies and social centers had been established thus creating some familiarity with the individuality as well as with the theoretical problem of the immigrant. Politically as in England the community was being faced with plans for the restriction of immigration. Experience in these three fields made hundreds of Jews in every large American community natural sounding boards against which modern shrieking newspaper headlines telling of bloody outrage reverberated not in vain.

[1] For full details see de Haas, *Theodor Herzl,* Volume II, pp. 126–156.

The mass of immigrants on the other hand, with characteristic aptitude for forgetting the blacker part of the past in an optimistic attempt to find themselves in their new American experiences, were violently shaken out of their assumed complacency and intense interest in local American development by the Kishineff outrages. The dividing lines of earlier and later settlement in America, of economic differentiation, of social groupings and even of religious assimilation, making the little appreciated stratifications of ghetto life in every city, suddenly yielded and broke. Circumstances favored this sensitiveness of the immigrant Jews to the piteous cry from their relatives in Europe. The jumble of the earlier ghetto settlements was giving way to a new order of things. Lines of demarcation were being established.

Socialists were struggling with conservative trade unionism ready to follow the code of the Federation of American Labor. A transplanted old guard of Russian revolutionary teachers was seeking power over all forms of Jewish dissent. Modernists were rising among the orthodox, Chassidim were separating from Misnagdim. Roumanians and Galicians were dividing from Lithuanians and Bessarabians. Hebraists were scorning the Yiddishists. Through its press the ghetto was raising the issue of the Jewish superiority of Yidden (East Europeans) to Yehudim (Germanic Jews). The younger immigrants Americanized by the public school were becoming vaguely but disconcertingly articulate in opposition to the elder generation. The growth and renesting of the "aliens" were beginning to influence New York, Philadelphia and Chicago politically. Ears were open for all sorts of ideas, and on these strained eardrums came the thunderclap

of Kishineff. As Victor Hugo said of an earlier Russian persecution, "The veil of the past was suddenly lifted and the forgotten evils of the Middle Ages crept back in the sunlight of modernity."

Germanic Jewry till then primarily led politically by the B'nai B'rith responded effectively. Relief Committees were organized with some centralization of effort in New York, funds were raised in all parts of the country but more impressive was the nation-wide protest bringing Jews of every type in line. The story[1] of the coalescence of American Jewry in the face of an ancient enemy has been told in the summary of 77 meetings of protest, held in fifty towns situated in twenty-seven states. The immediate effect of this outpouring in the United States was only appreciated in terms of the swift response to the appeal for the Kishineff Relief Fund. The refusal of Russia to receive the petition signed by 12,544 representative American citizens, despite the pressure of Secretary of State John Hay and President Theodore Roosevelt, engendered a feeling of weakness and hopelessness in American Jewry.

But at least one foreign writer perceived in this event something far more impressive at the time, and of great importance for the future. "The Kishineff incident marks the passage of the Jewish influence from a war-racked and diplomacy ridden Europe to the States of North America. A Jewry of intense power braced by the ozone of a freer atmosphere, infected by trans-Atlantic energy, and backed by a state which no other country would dare affront, is becoming increasingly articulate on the question of the Jewish tragedy. Can it be that in this case, too, the

[1] *Voice of America on Kishineff,* ed. by Cyrus Adler, Phila. 1904.

New World has been called in to redress the balance of the old?" [1]

This foresight was wholly justified by the course of events. From that date the importance of any Jewish incident depended upon the echo it could produce on the American Jewish sounding board.

IV

Had American Jewry at the beginning of the century been able to free itself from dependence upon Europe for intellectual leadership and scholarship the passage of authority westward might be identified with the publication of the Jewish Encyclopedia and the appointment of Prof. Solomon Schechter as head of the New York Jewish Theological Seminary. But these capital demonstrations of the fast growing maturity of what had become the greatest English speaking Jewry in the world made little impression abroad. Europe was and still is the center of Jewish thought and learning. So for the first time in history the transference of the hegemony which the English writer foresaw was political in character. But the course of events that immediately succeeded the Kishineff episode did not warrant any belief in American ascendancy in Jewry. The Kishineff petition had in John Hay's words become "a valuable addition to public literature" to be "sacredly cherished among the treasures of the State Department." Cold comfort for a mass writhing between Russian persecution, the passage of the Aliens Act in England and the increase of the head tax in the

[1] *Jewish Chronicle,* London, September 18, 1903.

United States where immigration was again assuming serious proportions. American Jewish leaders evidently felt they had not gained in prestige for whilst every type of European Jewish organization attended the conference convened in December 1904 by the German Hilfs Verein to consider the old question of *Wohin,* the American agencies of a similar type were wholly unrepresented at this gathering. The rising tide of emigration from eastern Europe called for organization and the German Jews undertook to establish stations which would facilitate the movement westward.

The later stages of the Russian war with Japan however brought about such violent changes in the internal affairs of Russia that for a brief spell in 1905 it seemed as though the golden era of emancipation had dawned for Jewry. On the morning of the Russian Easter of 1905 the Czar published a decree proclaiming absolute religious liberty for all subjects of the Empire. The Jews were not specifically mentioned in what was hailed as the birth certificate of Russian emancipation, and it is doubtful whether the decree actually applied to them. But all such speculation was permanently ended when the mutiny of the sailors of the Black Sea fleet forced the Russian autocrat to yield a more earnest semblance of freedom to the Russian people by the convocation of the first Duma. This experiment in parliamentarianism was not only literally baptized in Jewish blood, but the "constitution riots" of 1905 ending in the Bialystok massacre of 1906 profoundly affected the current of Jewish thought in Russia and elsewhere. The liberals whom the Jews had aided in the long fight for freedom, failed the Jews everywhere. They gave the Jews neither shelter nor

protection from the blood-crazed mobs. Feeling sufficiently free the Jews for the first time offered resistance to slaughter. It was estimated at the time that this series of outrages cost 10,000 lives and 100,000 wounded besides tens of thousands of homes.

The Russian revolutionary leaders in the United States ably seconded the efforts at self-defense and stirred the ghettos to wild outbursts of enthusiasm. So for a brief spell the reaction to struggle in Russia, for a pogrom makes all Jewry kin, was the dominance of iconoclastic radicals over the Jewish masses in this country. The success of the radical movements amongst American Jews to the moment of our entrance into the World War may be traced to the skill and earnestness with which the Russian revolutionists guided the ghettos during 1905 and 1906. It was their opportunity. The only political alternative, Zionism was at the moment a spent force without leadership in Europe or elsewhere and the immediacy of the Jewish need gave vogue to the new gospel of Territorialism and the Dubnow theory of nationalism amongst the active Jewish intellectuals in Europe.

Just at the moment when the pendulum of Jewish life here and elsewhere was for the first time swinging to the extreme left, a long meditated effort created a new relationship between the Jewries of the world. There was nothing dramatic about the founding of the American Jewish Committee in 1906.

Conditions in Europe the preceding year had demonstrated the need for some American organization capable of taking a responsible part in world Jewish affairs and a project was mooted for the establishment of a National Jewish Congress to be the representative body of Amer-

ican Jewry and privileged to speak authoritatively on Jewish affairs. The dividing lines between Jews of Germanic and east European origin were however still so sharp that the idea met with little response. Moreover middle western Jewish organizations were still insistent on evaluating Jewish life in terms of religious and congregational forms, whilst the eastern orthodox Jews regarded the individual Jew as the unit in secular national or political affairs. No "meeting of the minds" was therefore possible.

The creation of the American Jewish Committee seemed a rational organic development following the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Jews in North America. The organization of the Committee however met with opposition on the part of the English speaking sons of immigrants. Moreover on the publication of its charter at the end of 1906 its claim "to aid in securing the civil and religious rights of the Jews in countries where they are denied or endangered" was contested by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations which had its own Board of Delegates on Civil Rights and by the Independent Order B'nai B'rith. While the representatives of the masses objected mostly to the self-election and self-perpetuation of membership involved in the constitution of the American Jewish Committee, the organizations named criticized the usurpation of their authority. Representatives of the three bodies met but failing to come to an agreement limiting their several spheres of activity the protestants withdrew from active cooperation for the time and the American Jewish Committee thereafter, in practice, had the field to itself. Incidentally by this decision the seat of Jewish authority in

the United States swung away from Cincinnati and the middle west generally where it had been rooted by half a century's growth of the Reform movement, to the eastern seaboard which with its great mass settlement had become a natural Jewish center of gravity.

European Jews were deeply interested neither in the democratic nor "sphere of influence" issues raised at the founding of the Committee. They felt the need of support from a group of American Jews whose names promised stability and conservatism. Whatever its structural defects from the American point of view the Anglo-Jewish Association in London, the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris, and the Hilfs Verein in Berlin recognized that a sister organization had come into existence in New York and its first officers and sponsors, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall and Judge Julian W. Mack held out the prospect of stability as well as the means of conveying influence and authority. From the European situation this was the contribution most desired.

Democracy later found an outlet in the founding of the New York Kehillah which undertook not only to regulate communal life but to speak as a representative of the community. For several years, prior to 1912, various communities played fitfully with the problems of inter-communal organization and it looked as though the mass settlement of the eighties was finding organic expression for its viewpoint. This movement however gradually faded and when the New York Kehillah—the boldest adventure in mass organization—was made the appendage of the American Jewish Committee, Jewish democracy slowly ceased to be vocal. Indeed it was re-

duced to silence until the problems of the great war, identifying all sorts of inner conflicts, led to a strident demand for attention to the form and substance of American representation in the conduct of world Jewish affairs.

From 1906 to 1912 the American Jewish Committee was but one of a number of bodies that concerned itself with thwarting the efforts of alien restrictionists whose pet proposal for checking immigration was the enactment of a literacy test. The fight for liberal immigration laws was however not an exclusively Jewish matter and the liberals had the good will and support of three Presidents, Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson. When however the Irish Americans under the influence of the Gaelic movement realized that a restrictive immigration law was one way of keeping the Irish in Ireland to fight there the Irish battle for freedom, the power of the liberal immigrationists was broken and Congress adopted the Literacy Test. The law went into operation in 1914 at the moment when far more stringent war restrictions enforced the immobilization of all peoples in Europe except for military purposes.

V

The real issue, and a specifically Jewish issue, that determined both the position of Jewry within America, and the prestige of American Jewry throughout the world came from the efforts to enforce the rights of American Jewish citizens to enter Russia in accordance with the terms of the Commercial Treaty of 1832. Russia had for years discriminated against American and British Jews though its consuls created no special difficulty for those

Jewish subjects of the Central Powers who desired to enter Russia. Early in the nineties Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf of Philadelphia had somewhat conspicuously obtained permission to visit Poland, but in 1911 Oscar S. Straus, then American Ambassador to Turkey, was hailed with much acclaim for refusing to accept as a privilege the visa he had requested as an American citizen.

Prior to that incident few Jews were keen to visit Russia. The question only achieved a vital quality when prospering Jews, American citizens of Russian birth, sought the right to revisit their native land. To their demands for passports the State Department in 1907 issued a circular which told Jews directly, to heed the fact that an American passport could not protect them in Russia. After the usual interchange of protesting and explanatory letters between Jewish organizations and the Secretary of State, the interest in the question died until some time in 1910 when Nissim Behar, who had taken an active part in the liberal immigration struggle, started a popular agitation which quickly gained headway and forced conservative organizations to take action. The prospects were however not hopeful when early in 1911 the American Jewish Committee representatives together with those of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith presented the issue squarely to President Taft. The White House attitude was so lukewarm to the demand for recognition of American rights or abrogation of the treaty that no other alternative presented itself to the Jews than to desist from agitation or make the fight nation wide. The mood, a rare one, was for a fight to a finish.

The agitation spread far and wide, bewildering in its intensity those who feared the consequences of a clamor for Jewish rights. "Never in the history of America," observed one perplexed Jewish editor, "has there been such a display of sentiment favorable to a contention which involved the honor of American citizenship and the rights of American Jews." What the State Department would not undertake diplomatically the House of Representatives attempted to bring about by resolution. The denunciation of Russia was so serious, the presentation before the House and Senate committees by Jewish spokesmen so earnest, that President Taft to avoid action by the Senate and to prevent a more serious breach of diplomatic relations, on December 15th, 1911, ended what had become a hectic agitation by notifying the Russian Government that the Commercial Treaty of 1832 would be abrogated on January 1st, 1913.

Russia took the decision in bad part, and would not respond to the suggestion that a new treaty be drafted. Her ministers and publicists declaimed against this indirect method of interfering in her internal affairs particularly at a moment when even the Duma was moving in an anti-Jewish spirit. But all this was unimportant. European Jewry noted, with some fears for the future of American Jewry, that a battle on a paramount and distinctly Jewish issue had been won by the United States.

The internal position of the Jews in Russia was in no wise improved by this event, however seriously most European Jews were impressed. No group of Jews anywhere had from the grant of political emancipation in France in 1791 accomplished anything of an international char-

acter comparable to the abrogation of a treaty and the theoretic palm leaf of authority therefore passed to American hands.

VI

Was Jewish consciousness as real as some Jewish writers and many non-Jews maintain, the effect of this signal success would have made itself immediately apparent. The hegemony of Israel is however an idea which historians can painstakingly trace rather than a visible concrete fact. Now and then it has found expression in describing some one as "Prince of the Exile," generally some one who doubts the actuality of the exile. Therefore the impalpable over-shadowing of world Israel by American Jewry may not have been realized by the majority of Jews had not the World War completed the chain of events which demonstrated that hope, help and authority had firmly and definitely made the westward passage. For at least the first two years of the war the Jewish organizations in Germany endeavored to maintain, under then favoring conditions, their hold upon the Jewries of central and eastern Europe, but the superior efforts, political advantage of neutrality and large financial resources compelled the Jews of all the world to look westward for comfort and aid of every description.

At the outset of the war the American power to help was demonstrated mostly by quick and resourceful philanthropy that penetrated all lands. That made American Jewish names household words everywhere. With the coming of peace, and the dominance of President Wilson as arbiter of the peace terms America became the Mecca

of all who sought recognition for new nationalities or for old racial subdivisions revived in the hope of new adjustments of national rights in accordance with the war policy of "self-determination." National Councils hastily founded in many European centers adopted resolutions making great demands but they looked to America for the propping of their slender efforts. America would decide, and they believed the views of American Jewry would be no small factor in creating American opinion.

The actual influence of American Jews was probably exaggerated but some color was given to the belief that American Jewry would play a determining part in world affairs by the notable agitation begun in 1915 for organization of the American Jewish Congress. The demand for the creation of democratic authority in Jewry at a time when the cannonade on the battlefields resounded from the English Channel to the Persian Gulf was presumed to reverberate with the phrase "making the world safe for democracy." The repercussion arrested world attention to this new factor in Jewish life—mass Jewish influence. Masses, strikes and economic struggles hitherto had been interchangeable terms. The advent of mass effort in straightening out the tangles of Jewish life, was a new portent which aroused much speculation and even evoked philosophic interpretation in rationalizing European circles.

The congress movement, by its pre-congress gathering in Philadelphia in 1916, under the leadership of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, bared the soul of Jewish suffering, and advanced in definite terms the rights of Jews everywhere to share in the equality of freedom, opportunity and stable

existence which it was hoped would be the outcome of the World War. Moreover this democratic front not only won for a time victory over the right wing of American Jewry, but it forced upon every type of American Jewish leader acceptance of the two principles which became the dominant phases of Jewish policy at the Peace Conference—priority of interest in the creation of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine and obtaining minority rights for Jews and other minority groups in all the reorganized states in eastern Europe. When the delegates of the American Jewish Congress, which included the President of the American Jewish Committee, proceeded to Paris in February 1919 to meet the delegates of various European bodies and by force of circumstance and opportunity assumed the position of ambassadors of world Jewry to the official peace conference, the event undreamt of in 1900 happened—world leadership in political matters after forty years of control by French and English Jewry was handed over to the heterogeneous forces that constitute American Israel.

VII

The transfer of the political leadership in Jewry from Europe to America was, as we have seen, the result of a series of events beginning with Kishineff, that had their natural consummation in the incidents that cluster around the World War. Though the war of necessity produced a like result in the case of the Zionist movement, the incidental history of Zionism from the death of Herzl followed entirely different paths. The Sabbath Congress, as the seventh world gathering of Zionists (1905) was

designated, received the somewhat unsatisfactory experts' report on Nairobi and despite Israel Zangwill and his Territorialist associates, having thanked the British Government for its offer, "resolved that the Zionist Organization shall not engage itself further with the proposal." The Zionists reaffirmed the Basle Program and "rejected either as an end or as a means all colonizing activity outside Palestine and its adjacent lands."

As a sop to the political faction in the movement the congress added that it "rejects every aimless, unsympathetic and philanthropic colonization on a small scale which does not conform with the first point in the Basle Program." This decision was however revoked at the eighth Congress, convened in The Hague, Holland, in 1907, the majority then declaring for immediate "practical work in Palestine." The morale of the movement was considerably shattered by this reversion to the pre-Herzlian program of Chovevi Zionism spiritualized by the national culture teachings of Achad Ha'am.

Israel Zangwill aided by a group of able Russians found in the Zionist division ample opportunity for fostering Territorialism, and in due course together with his associates seceded from the parent movement. The establishment of the Jewish Territorial Organization drew some of the ablest English spokesmen and some of the best known Russian organizers in an inimical camp from which foray after foray was conducted on the Zionist ranks and on Zionist institutions. Zangwill's attempt to legalize his demand that Zionist funds be used to promote his search for a Jewish homeland in any of the vacant spaces on the globe was naturally met by a narrowing and hardening of the Zionist program. The major-

ity of the Zionists resisted Itoism, as Zangwill's movement was termed, but they were divided into two factions. Max Nordau and David Wolffsohn headed the political Zionists who remained steadfast by the Herzlian code, whilst the East European leadership, freed of the imposing personality of Herzl, led the mass of its supporters back to the cultural and colonization theories it had taught and practiced prior to the rise of the political movement.

The administration was put into commission and the titular leadership accorded David Wolffsohn, was a natural tribute to the Herzlian legend. In practice Wolffsohn could only rely upon the support of the west European Zionists. Wolffsohn suffered all the disadvantages of a coalition leader who could neither carry out the policies of his own party, nor satisfy his opponents who placed him in office. The encroachment by the Russian Zionists on the powers and functions of the leadership grew with every succeeding Congress. The faith in the idea began to weaken, the membership fell off and the shekel report, denoting the world-wide affiliation with the cause in 1908, showed that the support had fallen to one hundred thousand members, or less than half the number for 1903.

Not only was the organization slipping but its objective was being bent. The divided organization had redivided when the aggressive culturists at the Helsingfors conference of November 1906 endeavored to put into practice in Eastern Europe their *gegenswart* program of active nationalist cultural effort in the Diaspora. This was an abandonment of the political Palestinian aims which practically invited the withdrawal from the cause

of all those who had come in as a result of the Herzlian propaganda.

And this in good measure was the intent of the old Russian leaders. They distrusted all those who had partaken of west European assimilation. In their judgment belief in a political constructive program for the development or obtaining of Palestine was a sign of advanced assimilation.[1]

The temporary course of events justified the methods of the culture-colonization group. The leadership lacked the strength necessary to stem the adverse tide. The success of the Young Turk party in 1908 and the counter revolution of 1909 which sent Abdul Hamid II and the remnants of his harem into exile, promised a new and enlightened era in Turkey. Whatever hope the new régime aroused among Zionists was however quickly shattered. David Bey, who with Enver Bey and Djemal Pasha were the controlling factors in the new Turkish Administration, published so curt and clear a denial of all Zionist aspirations in Palestine that political Zionism was apparently a lost cause as long as the new policy of one hundred per cent "Ottomanization" swayed the Turkish people.

In 1910 differences within the ranks of English Zionism—a Zionist fraternal organization then under the influence of Dr. Weizmann had been recognized as the equal of the Federation—led to the serious consideration of a proposal to dissolve the English Zionist Federation. Although the step was abandoned most of the officers resigned. The old issue of East and West was the cause of the quarrel and Herzl's associates would not brook

[1] Cf. Achad Ha'am's essays on the Basle Program and the Balfour Declaration.

the charge that neither he nor they were real Zionists because they were not "historical" Zionists. At the Congress that followed, that of 1911, the battleground of inner organization strife was somewhat shifted owing to the demands of the Mizrachi for recognition and the acceptance of their platform. The Congress in the eyes of an observer "completely though not officially abandoned the views of its founder." This was no unfair interpretation of the formal coalition established between the Russian "practical Zionists" and the German "intellectual Zionists." As a result of this union the headquarters of the movement was formally moved to Berlin with Prof. Otto Warburg as Chairman of an administration that immediately put into practice the program of small colonization in Palestine.

The strength of the new policy was exhibited at the 1913 Vienna Congress when the Russian leader Ussischkin forced the founding of the Hebrew University upon the Congress by the simple expedient of announcing the amount of money that he and others had raised to carry out their plans. There was at the time much opposition to the project. It seemed too previous and unwarranted by the educational needs of Palestine, but the vote on the principle was avoided and the accomplished fact of money raised reported. This *force majeur* policy had one justification. In Palestine the development of Jewish national consciousness among the children of the original colonists was being deliberately checked by the attempt of the German Hilfs Verein to introduce German as the language of instruction in the schools. The same tactics, the introduction of English by the Anglo-Jewish Association and French by the Alliance Israelite Universelle, had

been employed in the Jerusalem schools. But these older grievances had been ignored because Jerusalem was at the time outside the pale of Zionist interest.

The new Zion was located in the agricultural settlements and not in the cities, and it was in the colonists' schools, which were badly in need of subsidies, that the German organization, anxious to support the German imperial "push to the East," engaged upon a struggle to Germanize the newly Hebraized Palestinians. The Hilfs Verein had founded the Haifa Technicum which particularly appealed to the newer generation and the attempt at Germanization was well planned. The Zionist Organization which to a limited extent was supporting colonization and had aided in the founding of various educational institutions, immediately raised the issue of Hebrew versus German and began to raise funds to subsidize the schools. In passing it may be noted that American Zionists and non-Zionists rallied to the cause of the Hebraists, but the fight was won by the first wholly idealistic strike organized in Palestine. The teachers went on strike and took their pupils out of the schools as a matter of principle. A legacy of this forgotten struggle is the subsidy for Palestinian education which is still an important element in the funds raised annually by the Zionist Organization for public welfare work. The Zionist outlook was therefore far from promising when the World War began.

VIII

The American phase of the movement was in no better shape. Politically the American organization had never played an important part in the administration of the

world organization or in the Congress debates. The Federation of American Zionists was founded in 1897 by Dr. Gustave Gottheil, his son, Dr. Richard Gottheil, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise who, after reading the reports of the first Zionist Congress, had become convinced of the righteousness and practicability of Herzlian political Zionism. But the majority of their supporters were immigrants who had brought their Palestine colonization tendencies with them to the United States. The development of the American organization was slow because the leaders could only give their leisure hours to it, and no resources existed for building up a nation-wide movement. The growth of the movement was further hampered from the start because two attempts at organization were made almost simultaneously.

New York as one organizing center undertook the Zionist supervision of two thirds of the United States while an independent group had arisen in Chicago who created a separate organization for the ten Middle Western States. During Herzl's leadership the American movement made no serious contribution to the cause, and although Territorialism met with no response in this country, the American movement after Herzl's death reacted to the European differences and began to droop. In its first period the high-water mark of the organization was achieved at the Cleveland convention of 1904 when the Kishineff massacres had driven many new adherents into the Zionist ranks. Two of the most notable of the "Kishineff" Zionists were Rabbi Adolph Radin, who was engaged in bringing American Reform Judaism into the ghetto via religious services at the New York Educational Alliance, and Joseph Barondess who as a

radical labor leader symbolized in the minds of the conservative nationalized masses the complete antithesis of their concept of things Jewish.

The practical colonization program favored in Eastern Europe had little interest for American Jews and those who were attracted by its organized colonization societies had only vague and intermittent affiliation with the Zionist organization. The weakening of the movement was denoted by holding the annual conventions in summer resorts—Atlantic City and Tannersville—instead of in cities with a large Jewish population. The membership decreased and the propaganda diminished. A phase of the cultural attitude did however attract some attention particularly in conservative rabbinical circles which had hitherto held aloof from Zionism.

The most noteworthy incident of these doubtful years was the resignation in 1907 on account of their pro-Zionist leanings of Professors Max Margolies, Henry Malter and Max Schloesinger from the posts they respectively held in the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. The younger generation of students was taking an earnest interest in Zionism and neo-Hebraic culture and the authorities no doubt sought to put an end to this heterodoxy by making the position of three of the teachers untenable. But the heavens did not fall, the professors found more congenial surroundings and the incident rapidly passed into the limbo of forgotten things.

Hence when in 1909 the convention was held in Terrace Garden, New York City, the sessions witnessed two struggles. The attempt of Louis Goldman, the founder of Poreah, to make the organization responsible for his newly projected colony in Palestine; and the presentation

by Dr. J. L. Magnes, guided by Prof. Solomon Schechter who accepted the Achad Ha'am theory, of a new "synthesis" of Zionism, one involving abandonment of the political implications of the Basle Program. Dr. Magnes was then the controlling factor in the American organization and he saw in the public announcement of the Young Turk policy adequate reason for an attempt to redraft the policy of the party. Seven stalwarts fought off both attacks on the principles of the movement and it was their struggle which kept the moribund American organization from breaking up.

During the years 1910 and 1911 the movement drifted. In 1912 courage was found to bring the convention to Cleveland but the paucity of attendance and the emptiness of the program was painful. That same year Hadassah was formally organized to add to the Zionist program, district nursing work in Palestine. In 1913 the decrease of attendance at the convention was at least explicable. The organization had its strength on the Atlantic seaboard and therefore only old-timers were present at the sessions held in Cincinnati, the stronghold of American anti-Zionism. That year the first considerable group of American delegates attended the international Congress, but they returned home confused by the intricacies of the parliamentary methods employed in the sessions and not greatly encouraged by the colonization plans adopted which led some six thousand Jews to settle in Palestine in the year prior to the war. The demand for parliamentary procedure which they could follow was the first note of revolt struck by the Americans in the international movement.

The year was however bare of serious achievement

except in the local protest against the Germanization policy attempted in Palestine by the Hilfs Verein der Deutschen Juden and when in June 1914 the convention met in Rochester, N. Y., the tolling of Hatikvah from a church steeple seemed almost symptomatic of the future of the cause. Dr. Schmarya Levin, having come to America with a mandate from the *Actions Comite* to finance the American Organization to the extent of $2,000 for one year, was present at the sessions. Little wonder that the finance committee perspired over its own proposal to adopt a $12,000 budget and that it was aghast at the hardihood of those who desiring to restore the vitality of the organization by active propaganda, suggested a $14,000 budget.

The outlook for American Zionism was therefore no more cheerful than that of the world movement at the outbreak of the war.

CHAPTER II

THE MAKING OF A MAN

I

Though many men had their full share in the evolution described in the previous chapter, the most consistent contribution to American Jewish history in the twentieth century has been that of Louis Dembitz Brandeis. Jurist, liberal, democrat, Zionist, idealist and moralist, his personality combines the fine savor of our civilization together with intense practical ability and enduring patience to achieve noble ends.

This story of a Kentuckian, who for the larger portion of his life has been identified with the cultural attitude of Boston, whose membership of the Supreme Court of the United States is still regarded as a unique event and whom the majority of his own race hold in reverence, can be traced back on the paternal side for nearly four hundred years. For the name "Brandeis" is cut upon the mouldering tombstones of the historic Jewish cemetery of the picturesque Prague ghetto, at regular intervals beginning with 1539, which is just prior to the expulsion of the Jews under an edict promulgated by the Diet of Bohemia and assented to by King Ferdinand, brother of Charles V. This bede-roll of the Brandeises of Prague includes squires, land owners, men responsible to the state for the conduct of the Jewish community, rabbis and martyrs (Kadoshim) and by marriage is even intertwined in the life of the great Rabbi

Low, the mystic whose legends fill so large a space in the accepted traditions of the Jewry of Prague.

On the maternal side the Dembitz family is traceable to Dr. Dembitz who came to Prague as a young student and who apparently joined the Frankist movement in 1792, that is, subsequent to the death of the claimant to the leadership of the Messianic movement which Sabbathai Zebi set in motion in the seventeenth century. There was sufficient fitful splendor in the impostor's adventure and enough misery in the daily Jewish lot, to arouse a craving for the occult and to create the proper milieu for the rise of a chain of successors claiming to be either the reincarnation of Zebi or of one of his chief aides who fanned the spiritual unrest of East European Jewry until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The last and most conspicuous of these transcendentalists, occultists, mystics and herald of a new dispensation, was Jacob Frank who in the middle of the eighteenth century proclaimed himself the messianic reincarnation of one of the best known Sabbathians. Possessed of a shrewd knowledge of the spread of the secret votaries of the old Zebi movement, Frank sought support amongst the Jews of Podolia. In this wise he speedily founded a new sect, the Frankists, and attempted to copy his abler predecessor in the grand manner. Frank had neither the charm nor the quality of self-deception which had characterized Zebi. But he captured the willing crowd with the aid of conjuring tricks, an aptitude for ornate and mysterious rituals, the practice and teaching of lewd habits as part of his new creed, and by proclaiming release from the burdens of the orthodox faith. However, instead of leading his followers to Turkey he undertook

to fight the rabbis who put him and all Frankists under the ban. As his new creed included a Cabalistic Trinitarian formula he was accorded Christian support, and after the manner of the period he challanged the rabbis to theological disputes before Christian tribunals. To justify his teachings and escape Jewish hostility he accepted baptism in the Catholic Faith and about a thousand of his adherents followed him to the font. Though the leader's end was miserable his followers maintained for themselves and their immediate descendants belief in his Messianic authority and in his resurrection. Zebi's Donmeh exist, but the Frankists cover merely an obscure page in Jewish history.[1]

Some of his followers, disillusioned by Frank's conversion to Christianity, abandoned the leader and the sect, and wearily retraced the steps that led back to Judaism. The ban and their separatist experiences had detached them from the body politic of the orthodox community. The lewdness and excesses they had witnessed provoked in them a severe, almost puritanical spirit which was not in harmony with the nervous, fearful, hopeful life which marked the Jews in Eastern and Central Europe for many decades. The ex-Frankists were Jews. Under the laws they and their descendants of necessity lived with Jews, but in spirit they had broken with the ghetto. They and their children were marked and labelled—ex-Frankists. Therefore their group was among the first to accept the freedom and emancipation which spread in Europe after the French Revolution.

[1] For a full account of the Frankist movement see Graetz's *Frank und die Frankisten;* also Dubnow's *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,* Vol. I.

The descendants of the ex-Frankists were thus among the earliest beneficiaries of modern assimilation. Of the third generation of these adventurers in mysticism only one member is known to have resumed the traditional Jewish life. The grand-children of the ex-Frankists who remained in Poland early identified themselves with the Polish cause, whilst those who settled in Bohemia were amongst the first champions of the rights of the Bohemians. This participation in revolt against formal religion and political oppression in two countries, constitutes the tradition of the Brandeis, Dembitz and interrelated families. That a descendant of these early liberationists should have exercised an influence in a three-fold post-war emancipation—Jewish, Polish and Czechish—is a tribute to the opportunities which result from American citizenship.

In the fourth decade of the last century, however, such reflections had not yet arisen. The struggles of 1830 merely enhanced the desire for local freedom in Europe, and it was not until the collapse of the widespread revolution of 1848, which forced so many men of heroic mold to settle in America, that Adolph Brandeis (the name derives from a small Bohemian town, to the north of Prague) and his fiancée, Fredericka Dembitz, joining a group of twenty Bohemians fared westward.

Leaving their almost medieval Bohemian city homes they came to America to seek new adventure. They would find prosperity, happiness and freedom as farmers in the rich bottom lands of the Mississippi or one of its great affluents. The romantic idyl of a bucolic existence was earnestly attempted, but these city-bred children of the old world could not contend against the rude condi-

tions which were then the lot of the plainsman, and they were speedily lured to the neighboring cities. Adolph Brandeis and his bride were married and settled in Louisville, Ky., and there was born to them two daughters and two sons. There too settled Louis Dembitz, the one descendant of the ex-Frankists who embraced orthodox Judaism, held office in the synagogue, made the study of Jewish ritual lore his avocation and by his learning became known as the "Jewish scholar of the South." Louis Dembitz however participated with equal zeal in the political and civic life of his adopted city. His ability and standing were recognized and as a Kentucky Republican he was privileged, in the turbulent Chicago National Republican Convention of 1860, to be one of the three nominators of Abraham Lincoln. Thus he made his contribution, in his generation, to the family tradition of high spiritual awareness and political emancipation.

The Brandeises and the Dembitzes, though quick to immerse themselves in Americanization, brought with them a distinct culture from the old world and kept alive amid their new surroundings that keen desire for human enfranchisement which had pushed them out of Europe.

II

Louis Dembitz Brandeis was born November 13, 1856, in Louisville, Ky., and was named for the uncle whose career as a lawyer, abolitionist and liberal thinker has considerably influenced his namesake. Brandeis' earliest recollections are of the Civil War and the part taken by his father and his uncle as Northern sympathizers in the local phases of the struggle. His father became a suc-

cessful grain merchant whose fortune grew with the opening of the west and the flood of produce that passed through Louisville.

In the seventies the family visited Europe, traveled extensively in its homeland and Louis Brandeis studied at the *Annien Realschule* at Dresden. His parents were keen to have him train for an academic career, but the regulatory spirit of German life annoyed him and fired with the ambition to follow in his uncle's footsteps he returned with the family to America to prepare for the bar. The abolitionist spirit which moved the male adults inspired Brandeis to seek his education at Harvard. When the panic of 1873 wrecked the father's business, the son persisted in the course he had set out for himself and just before he was eighteen years of age he entered Harvard Law School without preliminary college training. During a second visit to Europe he acquired a wide and practical knowledge of the liberal arts and he can still vividly describe pictures, sculptures, operas and plays seen fifty years ago. His prodigious memory is probably the result of eye strain suffered since his student days, for during a long spell at college he was compelled to hire readers and memorize the knowledge he acquired. He succeeded so well in his studies that the authorities suspended the required age rules so as to enable him to take his degree at twenty years of age. At Harvard he left the record of having been the most brilliant man who had ever studied there and in the judgment of Dean Roscoe Pound that record, made fifty years ago, still stands.

Whilst in Cambridge he earned enough money to reimburse his family for the advances they had made for his

professional studies and after graduation he went to St. Louis to start his law career with three hundred dollars of his earnings as his capital. His family connections in St. Louis promised him an excellent career in that city, but the traditions of Boston and his friendship for Samuel B. Warren, a fellow student, with whom he formed his first partnership, brought him back to Boston within eight months. He began his Boston practice when he was twenty-two and when he reached thirty his clientele was large and his reputation established. The exclusive portals of Boston society were wide open to this guest with great mental gifts, and personal social attractiveness.

During the first intense period of his law practice his life was in harmony with his environment. He found his friendships in the literary and musical circles of Boston and he was spoken of as an excellent art critic. He followed the social routine, participated in local charitable work, served on his district committee and visited in person the cases assigned to him. But even in those early days his mind was less attracted to the routine ameliorative charity policy in vogue than to the larger problems of social economics.

Experience suggested this broader outlook and Brandeis has always proceeded mentally from specific facts to the general underlying responsible principles. He was not a liberal seeking with youthful enthusiasm to make the world conform to his ideas. To the contrary he achieved his liberal views by reaching out to the farthest ramifications of a case in which he was retained to produce proximate results. His practice, however, either brought him unusual opportunities or he early adopted unusual

methods of attending to the affairs of his clients. For his professional duties carried him, in his zeal for direct and personal action, more than half way round the United States in the days when the trans-Mississippi states were being settled as part of the great push to the Pacific slope. When in the mood he recites vivid descriptions of what he experienced in boom towns that have long since become part of the prosperous corn and wheat belts.

It was however in 1888 that he first exhibited to his fellow Bostonians that spirit of righteous contrariness which subsequently made him a marked man in his profession. He had been retained by a local Catholic institution to secure a grant from the state. He carried his case almost to success, and then withdrew from the proceedings. The public hearings had produced arguments that convinced him that he had espoused the wrong side and he declined to argue for that which he no longer believed. Before long he was freely opposing state grants in aid of all sectarian institutions and to that faith he has since held.

His *volte face* on woman's suffrage, after listening to the arguments of the suffragists whom he was opposing, is a classic story in the history of the struggle for woman's enfranchisement. But he was in a far more difficult position, when as one of the leaders of the Franchise League he swung from the position of opponent of the Boston Gas Trust to the decision that the end, public control of the price of gas, could be best achieved by cooperating with the gas company. His change of front as many of his associates at the time conceived it, is long forgotten. What Bostonians know is that thanks to Brandeis' invention of the sliding scale of prices and profits there has

been no trouble over the price of gas since 1903. Years before the gas fight he had made his public mark in Boston by taking a keen hand in the investigation of its public charitable institutions.

By 1891 when he married Alice Goldmark he was sufficiently prosperous to be able to confide to his bride that he had determined to dedicate his life largely to public work along the lines that he was pursuing. His financial success was the result of his profitable legal practice but it was in large measure due to having continued the habits acquired in college. Whilst at Harvard he determined to achieve independence by minimizing his necessities and had thus acquired a habit of abstemiousness and self-denial. When he married, his wife agreed that the lavish expenditure of professional effort and money which he contemplated could be balanced by the limitation of their personal needs.

A great deal of the Brandeis simplicity men have remarked upon, is the result of this habit which goes a little beyond the old Bostonian "plain living and high thinking." Brandeis began by disliking "things," encumbering impedimenta, which require thought and care for themselves and thus obstruct consideration for the essentials that make for stark, efficient, useful existence. From this dislike for things he had passed into distrust of all luxury, whether it be food, drink, clothing, estates—all the non-essentials.

His Spartan simplicity of habit and personal environment suggest that he adopted wholly the Puritanism of early New England and lost all desire for those creature comforts which were natural to his ancestors and favored in the Southland in which he was born. That from long

habit he has come to trust the thorn-strewn path rather than the rose-bowered way, is no doubt true today. But as is characteristic of Brandeis, this attitude is not due to the acceptance of Puritan philosophy but is a measure decided upon to meet his personal needs. To be free to do what he wished to do, he had to release himself as much as possible from all things costly in money and wasteful of time. That code made him. So he believes it is a good code. But he makes no attempt to enforce it on others. It merely stands out in severe contrast to the lavish habits of the period, and sometimes shocks into self-consciousness the self-indulgent who make the pilgrimage either to his home in Washington or to his summer abode amid the berry-covered sand dunes of Cape Cod.

Soon after his marriage Brandeis began to support the rights of labor organizations and to the surprise of the social set in which he moved, he became a champion of the rights of labor against great aggregations of capital. From this point his mind traveled into new paths. He regarded as wrong the practice by which lawyers receive large fees, which are eventually recouped out of the pockets of the consumers, for obtaining franchises the value of which was not known to the citizens of the state. To redress this wrong he organized the Public Franchise League which kept up a continuous warfare on the lobbyists who gathered at the State House on Beacon Hill. It was in accord with this principle that he appeared "for the consumer" in Washington in 1897 at the Dingley Tariff hearing and was received with marked hostility. So too he acted as Counsel for the Consumers' League without fee.

III

The title "The People's Attorney" came to him in 1896 when he appeared without retainer for the citizens of Boston in the first big fight against the local traction interests. That fight lasted many years and Brandeis gained a victory for the people. Thereafter his lot was practically cast on the side of the people against exploiting interests of every description. To maintain the rights of the people, to keep down the overhead cost of gas or insurance, to create minimum wage laws for women, to help balance life in the interest of the mass by legislation, this was the ideal he set before himself. But unlike most members of his profession somewhere early in his career as a fighter of public wrongs he discovered that legislation is not action, but merely permission to act and that opinion lacks the finality of deeds.

Therefore the great contribution of Brandeis to social justice is not merely inventing new helpful mechanism to that end, but in spending his strength, time and means in putting his devices into action. A very clear instance of his working method is the Massachusetts Savings Bank Insurance Law. The investigation into the Equitable Life Assurance Society in which he acted as unpaid counsel for the protective committee of policy holders resulted in his drafting those legal remedies which Charles Evans Hughes incorporated into the Armstrong Bill adopted by the New York legislature. But in his home state Brandeis went further.

Why not give the wage earners an opportunity for cheap insurance? In addition to a careful study of the intricacies of actuarial tables necessary to draft a plan,

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
(*At the age of 39*)

Brandeis took the stump for his bill and carried it after a hard fight against the insurance lobby. This victory did not content him. He organized and financed the propaganda which put the new law into action, taught the masses to appreciate the advantages of the law and acted as foster father to the system until his elevation to the Supreme Court.

This constructive effort at economic state-craft has the quality of permanence. During twenty years of its operation Massachusetts Savings Bank Insurance has waxed exceedingly and yet the rarity of the type of mind which envisages this kind of public good is attested by the fact that in no great state has this simple, cheap and safe system of insurance been copied.

To the philosophically minded it may appear that in this kind of effort Brandeis was seeking to adjust to modern conditions the social economic balancing legislation of the Mosaic code. Or he may be regarded as having attempted to put into practice Mazzini's theory of remedying the ills that affect the mass by political legislative acts. But despite his great reading, Brandeis with his factual mind has not acquired any book philosophy, and escapes exact classification. His application of the wisdom laid down by modern social philosophers is a case of long-headedness, rather than a conscious determination to keep in line with the most accurate teachers along his own line of reasoning.

The author recalls one of the typical European intellectuals who asked, "Is Brandeis a scholar?" Being told Brandeis was, he asked further, "What has he written?" The short list of books that bear Brandeis' name was provided. A few days later the old scholar returned

in a huff. "I read those books. An endless collection of facts and a consideration of practical matters. Not a single philosophic idea. What are his views?" Our answer was, "He does not expound views or ideas—he only puts them into action."

His mind processes have led to other misunderstandings. Brandeis deals mentally with facts as a chemist employs reagents. Greek and Roman history are as clear to him as though they were part of the morning's news. Not only the salient but many of the detailed facts of American history are at his finger tips. He can set forth in excellent sequence the prices of staple commodities or important stock exchange listings for decades. That which he has studied he has thoroughly absorbed with painstaking precision and with effort, for Brandeis is not a quick reader, but he concentrates on each task. He who would interview him generally goes away interviewed to the last shred of his information on a particular subject and if something that has been said leaves Brandeis unsatisfied he "pursues his quarry to the earth." Having stored in his memory all the facts that he has encountered in a varied life he readily recognizes "old friends" or "old enemies." Their modern social or racial disguises nowise disturb him. Plucking therefore out of any recital of passing events the basic facts he can give quick and clear judgment. Even his closest friends, who know that behind the cold exterior lurks a great emotional personality, frequently regard his quickly asserted views as emotional response rather than reasoned judgment. After the passage of time they are often amazed that these swift decisions so lucidly and tersely expressed wear with the quality of prophetic utterance. They forget that with

facts as with men Brandeis has evolved a code, "anyone or anything may fool me once, but if I am misled a second time it is my fault."

The mystery of his clarity of vision, if mystery there be, is that he possesses an uncluttered brain and a desire for continuous action in all that interests him. Perhaps one hundred of all the myriad things that make life, seriously concern him. But the other tens of thousands interest him not at all. He spends no thought on them. His is no wayward mind. He never loses himself in by-paths. He and his interlocutor must keep to the main issue. That is why he achieved national prominence in the Ballinger case and in his fight against the railroads. In the former he had to invent a method of getting at the real facts. So he evolved a plan so simple and complete that he was for a time credited with the detective skill of a Sherlock Holmes. In the railroad struggle which occupied years, the financial mazes were so many and so tempting to one gifted with intellectual curiosity that only a mind trained to keep to the open road of arithmetic could have achieved victory.

In the Oregon case where the rights of women workers were involved, Brandeis had the courage to regard the legal issues as subordinate to the human facts. Instead of producing a brief that would delight lawyers he won his case by collecting, with the aid of a unique staff, all the human data that could scientifically prove whether or not it is injurious to the individual and a danger to the community for women to labor longer than ten hours a day. He applied the same process in defending the Oregon minimum wage law. Here he assembled all the facts known throughout civilization on the evils of overwork.

He applied a clinical not a legal method to an important economic problem and won his case on what the facts proved. His self-appointed guardianship of the public interests unquestionably led him to accept the conduct of these cases. But another attitude, one in which Brandeis stands severely alone, inspired him to take a leading part in the anti-corporation struggle.

He not only disesteems bigness but the characteristic worship of great aggregations appals him. He puts efficiency in the first place and believes no man is big enough to run the world, no corporation efficient enough to monopolize an industry. He has a keen sense of the natural limitations of human effort and he distrusts operations that grow beyond the intimate contact of a conceiving and directing mind. Many men have gone from him disappointed because he has by his simple advice crushed their gorgeous dreams. In legislation, in organization, or in commonplace business he is apt to advise, "Go home, select a little thing and do that thing well; the rest will follow." If he has a motto it is Goethe's line *"In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister."* He has the craftsman's love for doing something well, rather than the common desire for many varied avocations.

With all his keen interest in public problems, he took no active part in Massachusetts politics. A registered Democrat he was rightly regarded as of that independent Liberal school of which his lifelong friend Charles W. Eliot, Harvard's great president, was the leader. Now and then Brandeis was spoken of as a possible candidate for Governor or Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts but in the end party councils decided that it was better to nominate a candidate who both before and after election might seek

advice at 161 Devonshire Street, than to make its chief occupant the spearhead of the typical intense Massachusetts gubernatorial campaign. The Liberals and the Democrats of the Bay State often wage war side by side but sometimes for conflicting motives. In 1911 the Liberals believed Robert LaFollette was the one man in public life who most closely represented their views and principles. Therefore they were content to aid him in his avowedly forlorn quest for the presidential nomination. The Massachusetts Democrats courted Governor Harmon of Ohio and eventually supported Joseph Cannon for the nomination. The Baltimore Convention by nominating Woodrow Wilson not only fused the interests of the political Democrats and the intellectual Liberals, but it aroused the latter to unusual political effort. Brandeis being appealed to willingly took the stump for the candidate. The campaign leaders were not merely pleased at this action but they felt at greater ease with Brandeis the lawyer, than with Wilson the schoolmaster, and they were willing, in some matters, that the former should interpret the latter to them. Incidentally they discovered that Brandeis was a Jew, but of a type new to them, and the late Senator Hoke Smith of Virginia on a long ride through New England, after a session with Brandeis, thus summarized the new acquisition: "I believe Brandeis is the greatest Jew in the world since Jesus Christ."

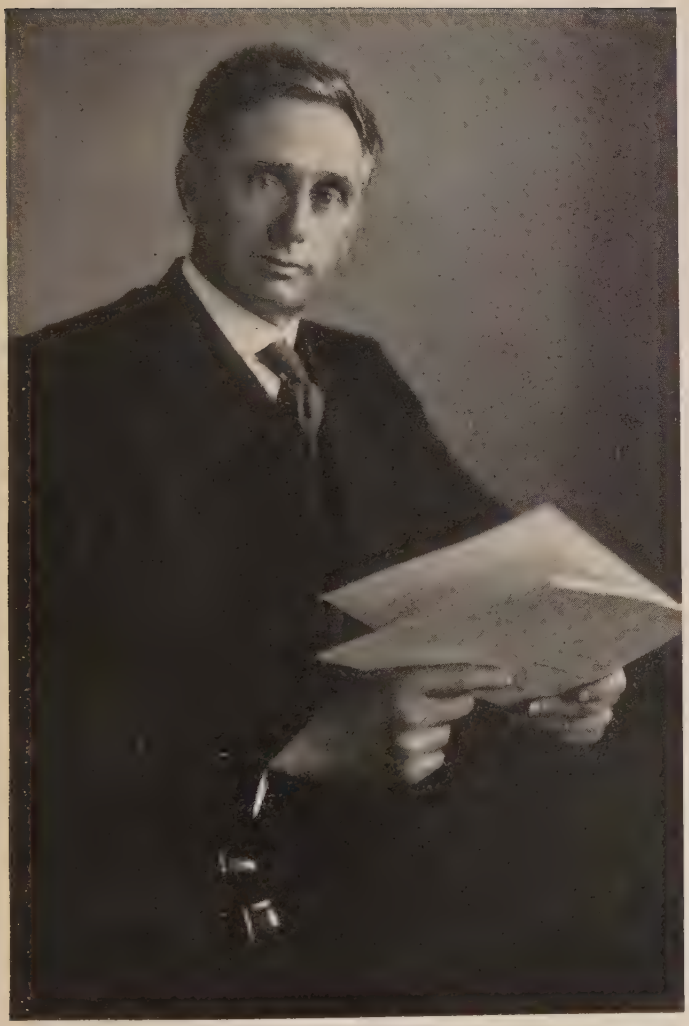
In 1913 President Wilson proposed naming Brandeis Attorney General but for various reasons the plan was dropped. In the spring of 1916 Brandeis was nominated to the Supreme Court amid an outcry of disapproval, in which the voice of President Lowell of Harvard was loudly heard.

President Wilson characterized the opposition to his nomination as throwing "a great deal more light upon the character and motives of those with whom they [the charges] originated than upon the qualifications of Mr. Brandeis." Summarizing Brandeis' character President Wilson said: "I have known him. I have tested him by seeking his advice upon some of the most difficult and perplexing public questions about which it was necessary for me to form a judgment. I have dealt with him in matters where nice questions of honor and fair play, as well as large questions of justice and the public benefit, were involved. . . . I have received from him counsel singularly enlightened, singularly clear sighted and judicial and above all, full of moral stimulation. He is a friend of all just men and a lover of the right, and he knows more than how to talk about the right—he knows how to set it forward in the face of its enemies."

Brandeis took the oath of office as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States on June 5th, 1916.

IV

Those learned in the law no doubt have their own views as to which of all his cases, prior to 1916, did most to enhance Brandeis' reputation or best displayed his great forensic skill. But the author has been most interested to discover which of all his vast experiences have done most to mold the Brandeis we know in 1929. For Brandeis who was so many sided in his active reaching out for social justice, has since 1912 exhibited himself as two complete men facing two worlds which only on great



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
(At the age of 62)
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

occasions meet. Not that the thinking processes, nor the methods of approach to problems change as he turns from one to the other. The swift strong undercurrents, the intense application, the personal contact, the careful study and perpetual precision are always the same. So is the single-mindedness of purpose, the simplicity of thought, and the directness of action. Yet there is a line of cleavage.

Brandeis, the People's Attorney, has disappeared in the dispassionate careful Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States whose opinions, whether in agreement or dissent, with his fellow judges, engross the attention of the members of the legal profession. To his clients, to his neighbors in Dedham and Boston, to the thousands who noted his tall rugged figure as daily he walked to and from his law office, Brandeis has become a great figure shielded from view by the aura of Washington. Only the folks who live at Chatham, on Cape Cod, each summer glimpse him in the flesh as a very democratic individual, a kindly thoughtful neighbor marked with the old Yankee simplicity. The local train despatcher, the mail carrier and the barber, know Brandeis as Bostonians once knew him.

But whilst to the world the active resourceful striving attorney has disappeared in the Justice, there has arisen another Brandeis—a Jew who is keen to feel and think with his people and who the world over, has come to be known as Israel's greatest spiritual guide and most practical adviser in this generation. This Brandeis whose picture was reverently hung in many Roumanian Jewish homes in 1918, whose private office in Washington is a temple to which men and women make pilgrimages from

all the ends of the earth, has a background peculiar to the man and his times.

During the cloakmakers' strike which in the summer of 1910 affected seventy thousand Jewish workers, Brandeis was called in as mediator. He abandoned his vacation and undertook to solve the problem that kept asunder workers who were starving on the weekly strike pittance and the manufacturers who saw an annual turnover of nearly two hundred million dollars in jeopardy. The bone of contention was the "closed shop," and both sides were bitter and resentful. Brandeis speedily won the good will and confidence of the workers. More slowly but equally successfully he gained the faith of the employers. He brought both sides together, discovered all their points of agreement and on the vital issue met the situation by inventing "the preferential union shop." Neither side accepted this new idea at first, but eventually the protocol was signed and Brandeis was chosen as third man by both sides as permanent arbitrator. Another victory for the Brandeisian formula of meeting a specific problem by a just measure framed to meet the circumstances.

Both sides admitted their indebtedness to the fair-mindedness of Brandeis. He on the other hand pondered long and seriously over a new experience. It was his first real contact with Jews. He had in his younger years known a few Bostonian Jews socially. He numbered some Jews amongst his clients and he was a contributor to the Boston Federated Jewish Charities. He had never disowned being a Jew but equally clearly he had no Jewish consciousness. Although public attention was riveted upon him in Boston after 1896 and the publicity agent for the railroad interests he often opposed described him

as an "oriental," he was in 1910 neither regarded as a Jew locally nor nationally. Brandeis is not even mentioned in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Some time in the late nineties he wrote a letter to his wife from a Milwaukee hotel calling her attention to a magazine article on the colonization of Palestine and his belief that there was something good in the idea. There is an unverifiable legend in Boston that he addressed a group of youthful Zionists sometime before 1900, but none of these incidents aroused any Jewish consciousness in him. His experience in the New York strike offered him something new.

It seemed to him that he had come across an ethical attitude which was outside the range of his experiences as a strike mediator. "What struck me most was that each side had a great capacity for placing themselves in the other fellows' shoes. There was the usual bitterness and rancor but despite this each side was willing to admit the reality of the other fellows' predicament. They really understood each other, and admitted the understanding. They argued, but they were willing to listen to argument. That set these people apart in my experience in labor disputes."

V

At that time, the early fall of 1910, Brandeis was still carrying on his propaganda for Savings Bank Insurance in Boston, and it was with the desire to obtain some publicity for the workings of the new law that the insurance publicity representative called on the author in his capacity as editor of the *Jewish Advocate*. Cooperation was offered but the theme seemed both dry and remote.

It was suggested that if certain new features could be introduced into the working plan, the system might be made attractive to his readers. A few days later these remarks led to a request that the editor meet the father of the new insurance law. The problem of creating dowry and college tuition endowment was discussed with characteristic directness. Jewish habits of thrift were examined impersonally and objectively. The writer knew nothing of the self-questioning that had been provoked in Brandeis by his contact with the Jewish cloak workers of New York, when at the close of the insurance discussion he ventured to identify the Boston attorney with the Louisville uncle for whom he was named. Brandeis' admission came readily enough, and on the second repetition of the sentence "Louis N. Dembitz was a noble Jew," there was instant demand for explanation of that term.

Louis Dembitz had been one of the earliest and most earnest encouragers of the Zionist movement in this country and it was in this capacity that we had learned to know him. It was in explanation of our esteem of Louis Dembitz that we proceeded in the next hour to unfold the epic story of Theodor Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement. That story, told chapter by chapter in a series of interviews during the following winter, coupled with the capacity for the ideal which he had found in the needle workers of New York, opened to Brandeis new vistas.

Brandeis having no desire for a reputation for versatility—the besetting sin of most Americans in public life—cannot play with ideas. He either grapples with them and makes them his own, or he rejects them wholly and utterly. The idea of Zionism, the whole problem of Jewish existence had suddenly and unexpectedly confronted him.

Here was something of which he knew nothing and yet of which in a remote way he was part. The how and the why merited exploration, and so from that first interview he began an earnest quest for knowledge. Probably no other Jew has arrived at the same conclusions and to such deeply stirred self-consciousness by the same process. He digested facts and arrayed them in sequence in his orderly mind.

He studied the footnotes as well as the printed page of Jewish history and made the Zionist idea his own. In 1911 and 1912 while he was daily going through the tumult of his public role as "People's Attorney" he snatched odd hours in which he gave close application to Jewish matters. Two examples of his power for detachment in this respect bear telling. It was at the moment prior to President Wilson's inauguration in 1913, when the whole country was gossiping aloud as to the possibility of Brandeis becoming Attorney General, that he made his first engagement to appear on the Zionist platform. Men were looking at him as a possible member of the cabinet whilst he was seeking the form for his first public utterance on Zionism. And on that critical day in 1916, when the newspapers were issuing hourly bulletins of the rumors from Washington as to whether his appointment to the Supreme Court would be confirmed by the Senate, he was quietly and persistently discussing with the author the precise known facts that explained the specific causes of the marked poverty and misery of the Jews in Galicia.

In the privacy of the monthly dinner of the New Century Club, an association of Boston Jewish professional men, Brandeis made his first serious utterance on Zionism. The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad

Company fight was then at its height and there was widespread belief that Brandeis would regale his colleagues with some of the inside details of the struggle he was waging. To the sheer amazement of his audience Brandeis said he regarded the railroad fight as unimportant to that gathering and unfolded his deep solicitude for the spiritual and moral welfare of the Jews. He explained his interest in Zionism and identified himself in unqualified terms with the cause.

His affiliation with the Zionist Organization was reported at the Cleveland convention of 1912 but the announcement created no great stir. But Bostonian Jewry was rather excited when in the spring of 1913 Brandeis presided at the meeting that welcomed the first visit of Nahum Sokolow. Brandeis had carefully prepared his own statement for that meeting, but unlike most presiding officers he did not permit his own views to serve as a barrier between the audience and the visitor and reserved himself for the end. Sokolow however spoke for more than two hours and with characteristic regard for other people's time Brandeis limited his address to a few closing sentences. A somewhat similar disappointment was experienced by a Worcester audience a few years later. Several thousand Jews were gathered to listen to Brandeis. But the chairman of the arrangements committee had so much to relate in introducing the chairman of the evening, and the chairman had so much to impart as to his own views and occupied so much time in introducing the successive preliminary speakers, that Brandeis who had been reserved to the last, when finally called upon, looked calmly at his watch and told the audience that he would

come back some other night and speak at a more appropriate hour.

Sokolow, one of the leading factors in European Zionism, was captivated by this new Zionist and in his report to the Zionist Congress of that year, he made his meeting with Brandeis the leading theme of his account of his visit to the United States. By this time a few American Zionists were impressed by the value of Brandeis' support but the attempt to arouse European interest in his personality failed. America was still the most remote factor in the movement. Brandeis entirely unconscious of this effort was still busy reading about the movement and about Palestine, and privately meeting those Zionist personalities who occasionally visited Boston. His interest was still intellectual rather than active for the excellent reason that except for a vague discussion of the feasibility of organizing an industrial corporation for Palestinian development, a project submitted by Sokolow in New York before his departure for Europe, and the Congress discussion of the then remote Hebrew University project, the movement was in a moribund condition.

CHAPTER III

ZIONIST MASS GROWTH FROM 1914–1920

I

Brandeis was greatly impressed by the strike of the Palestinian teachers in 1913. These unknown instructors of the children of the colonists fought for a principle wholly dissociated from economic gain. They wanted to maintain the grudgingly supported Hebrew language against the better financed German. Exhibit A in that idealism which he believed latent in every Jew and possible of being exalted to its highest pitch by association with so fundamental a yearning as the Restoration to Zion. A realist familiar with the crudities and weaknesses of daily life Brandeis has had occasion to ask more than once "if gold rusteth what shall iron do?" His approach to Jewish idealism therefore had little of the romantic in it. He was not carried away by fine-sounding words. His own vocabulary is rather meager in that respect. He eschews words like "altruism," and avoids both "sacrifice" and "self-sacrifice." "I know nothing about sacrifice" he observed to the writer on a momentous occasion, "I only know duty."

Of all the post-Biblical books the wisdom of Ben Sira has appealed most to him. It was in Ben Sira's spirit, "honor a physician according to thy need of him," that he saw the relationship of Zionism to Jewish life, particularly in the United States. An emotion that exercises a great "pull" upon his conduct is loyalty. He is not only

loyal to those who are faithful to what he considers right, but he saw in Zionism a sincere and fruitful loyalty to the underlying principles of the Jewish people. So intense a quality could be made to fructify to the advantage of all humanity. That most Zionists were "poor and lowly," offered him comfort for it completed the picture his mind had formed of the forces that could regenerate a people and restore a land.

Brandeis' academic interest in the evolution of Zionism was however abruptly changed by the World War into which Europe was plunged within a month of the Rochester Zionist Convention. Whilst a few optimists of the Herzlian school believed the great opportunity of political Zionism would be born of the inevitable peace, the movement to most of its adherents seemed about to disappear in the *mêlée* rapidly extending from the British coast to the coast of Palestine. Actual knowledge of the operations and commitments of the World Organization was scant in this country and only broad generalizations were available on the immediate pre-war situation in Palestine. American Zionism had followed, never led, nor shared in the government of the organization. Nevertheless an extraordinary convention was summoned in New York for the last days in August to consider what steps might be taken to meet the wholly new problem that confronted the American adherents to the cause. To the sessions, held at the Hotel Marseilles, came Brandeis, who had consented, after full discussion of the difficulties ahead, to the presentation of his name as chairman of the Emergency Administration which the situation demanded.

There were in existence the eastern and middle western federations; an insurance order, the B'nai Zion;

Young Judea, a youth's educational movement; Hadassah, the women's organization then devoted to district nursing in Palestine; the Jewish National Fund, a financial collection agency; and the nucleus of the right and left wings of the movement—the Mizrachi (orthodox) and the Poali Zion (radical labor and socialist). To combine all these forces so that Zionism could weather the storm was the natural policy of this extraordinary session. Another decision was to assume the responsibility for Palestinian effort which it was believed the World Organization with its seat in a belligerent capital, could no longer sustain. A Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs was therefor created and Brandeis, a new personality to most of the delegates present, was unanimously elected chairman. An Emergency Fund was planned with a budget of $100,000. At the moment this sum was regarded as sufficient to cover two years of the World Organization's obligations in Palestine. Brandeis' speech of acceptance was brief and hopeful and he started the fund with a thousand dollar subscription. Altogether $12,000 was raised and pledged that day.

A good and successful day in American Zionism. Brandeis had been an observer rather than a participant in the sessions and when at the moment of adjournment, he suggested that further meetings be held beginning the next morning, his attitude of serious responsibility came upon the existing administration as a distinct surprise.

There had been instant agreement at the conference that the glamour of the name of the People's Attorney would lend luster to a cause that needed great aid, but

there had been no general prevision of the fact that Brandeis would take his leadership seriously. Until the nomination committee went into session the wheel-horses of the organization had not even considered that the task in hand was to group a committee of individuals who could easily gather around the new leader. They were thinking of a good "show piece," and when that "show piece" suggested a session for the following day they consented in a cheerful spirit. But that next day the spirit of cheer was replaced among the governing group by dismay and perplexity.

On the last day of August 1914, Louis D. Brandeis assumed the office of Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs and thus for the first time came into serious session with a considerable number of Zionists. Before the end of that first meeting held in a small room in the Hotel Marseilles, those who had elevated him to this new office realized that the war had brought them under the pressure of a novel type of leadership. He sat in that crowded room steadily tapping a pencil on a blotter, making no speeches, issuing no commands, permitting no long recess. Instead he was holding a continuous court of enquiry. He wanted to know, and beyond all he wanted explanations that explained. Now and then he smiled encouragingly at a witness, sometimes he essayed to repeat the strange Hebrew names of Zionist institutions, often he would purse his lips, but above all he listened. His patient listening was to some of the old leaders exasperating, for it was a new experience.

When this war emergency conference adjourned, some of those present went their several ways rejoicing that

a new leadership had come into their old shop-worn movement. Some departed perhaps disturbed over their reckless promises of support; others went away plainly unhappy. Hitherto except for a few subordinates the several phases of the movement had been managed by volunteers, and housed at various addresses on the lower East Side of New York. Except at the regular conventions the private routine of Zionists was rarely interrupted. Yet here within twenty-four hours a new grouping, requiring subordination of the time, and of the personnel of the administration, was evolved. The new leader having absorbed all the information available, set many men tasks in a spirit that would not be denied. It was a new and wholly unexpected experience. Hence the mixed feeling with which that extraordinary conference ended.

Organizations do not readily shift their bases. The American Organization to this moment had only played an auxiliary part in the movement. The Jewish National Fund and the Bezalel School Exhibition, were perhaps its most positive achievements to 1914. The coalition of seven varied groups which the war emergency demanded seemed, on paper, perfectly feasible but those officers of the Federation who had been instrumental in creating it had not foreseen that the newly created Provisional Committee would immediately become the directing and superior body. To the contrary they assumed that the Provisional Committee, would, owing to its emergency character, prove a useful temporary auxiliary that would subordinate itself to the Federation and thus add to the prestige of that body and its officials.

No one in September 1914 anticipated a long war and the course of events and the changes that followed in rapid succession, obscured the withholding attitude of some of those who had consented to the new order of affairs.

Brandeis was so readily accepted by the majority of Zionists, he received for years such loyal support, and he forced the Zionist pace so brilliantly, that it is doubtful whether any phase of this dispute of his authority came to his attention before the summer of 1917. And it is safe to say that few of the Zionists who were present that year at the Baltimore convention recognized in the "Convention politics" anything so serious as an attack on the much-prized Brandeis leadership.

To the rank and file and to most of the leading personalities participating in the work of the organization, year by year, from the winter of 1914, the greatly expanded, wonderfully successful American Zionist movement was being led from victory to victory by an unusual and dominant personality, Louis D. Brandeis. In June 1914 he was an unknown factor in Jewry—one whose Jewish affiliations had been doubted in 1913. On November 13th, 1916, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, a volume containing ten thousand signatures quietly collected—with a dollar donation for each signature—was presented to him in token of the faith, steadfastness and regard in which he was held by Jews in all parts of the United States. No quicker mass response could have come to Brandeis than this unheralded, and unpublished token of devotion and admiration for his championship, of the claims of Zion and of the Jewish People.[1]

[1] See Page 231.

II

The Brandeis régime lasted from September 1914 to June 1921, but it was some months in getting under way and its strength was gone from it in October 1920 when the convention was held in Buffalo. But in this period of less than seven years the face of the Zionist movement was wholly changed and the power of the American Organization in Jewry and in Zionist affairs made a page in world history. War conditions unquestionably conspired to aid the effort that was put forward; but the seizing of opportunity is a real man's game, and under Brandeis' direction the Zionist forces were employed effectively whether the objective was diplomacy, organization or rigid accounting of American receipts and Palestinian expenditures.

The new leader imposed his spirit upon the organization. From the day he accepted office till October 1916 when he took his seat on the Supreme Court, Brandeis devoted part of every day to the business of Zionism and to a close study of related Jewish affairs. His habitual punctuality forced a like response from everyone who sought to associate with him. In the next place, he believed in the written word. Every oral report to him and every oral instruction given by him was followed by a written record. His carefully phrased letters, with their numbered paragraphs, followed at short intervals by demands for precise detailed statements, were not only a serious strain upon those to whom letter writing was an event, but the whole procedure called for an orderliness and a systematization, a compactness and a precision which often irked volunteers as well as the paid

staff of the organization. The installation of a time clock in the Zionist offices was not a gesture to the employees but to many it meant more than checking the hours of employees. It implied an end to comfortable dishabille, the "slippered ease" with which Zionist affairs had been conducted. Some of the old "machine" rebelled against this introduction of mechanical methods, and at the Baltimore Convention in 1917 made an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Brandeisian supremacy. They were whole-heartedly willing to fight under the shadow of Brandeis' name but they were equally earnestly opposed to his ceaseless spurring, his demand for self-discipline, his insistence upon accuracy, and his stern opposition to compromise.

Brandeis' "will to decide" is supported by a prodigious memory. He forgets neither jot nor tittle of any promise or pledge made to him or the cause. Those close to him admire him to the point of real affection. They find in him a congenial companion, a courteous and thoughtful host, a man moved by deep emotions, albeit a trenchant critic. Those who see him at a distance are awed by the great spiritual quality with which nature has so richly endowed him. But those in the middle ground fear his simple and unbendable code.

It is not only in Palestine that two and two make three and a half, or five, depending upon whether one is adding liabilities or assets. "May be" and "perhaps" are common reservations, and outbursts of generosity which figure only in "pledges reported" are daily experiences. Brandeis has none of these weaknesses and does not tolerate them in those who work with him. He has never been a "joiner," and the whole spirit of irresolution which

makes opposites compatible to the followers of the creed of good fellowship is entirely foreign to him. There are "Main Streets" in Jewry. "Babbitts" are fairly numerous, and the equivalents of Rotarians and Kiwanis are met with in almost every type of organized Jewish life. Centuries of bitter experience have even produced a special type, the men who fear every positive utterance as a cause for strife, and who in the role of "peacemakers" are ever ready to blunt the fine edge of purpose and belief in order to maintain a nebulous public Jewish unity. To these all Jewish causes are good though some are entitled to preference. This kindly code is in good measure responsible for much of the existing Jewish chaos and disorganization.

Brandeis is intense and single-minded. He knows nothing of doubtful assent or hesitating dissent. To the cause that has his agreement he gives liberally, and almost invariably anticipates the request for aid by asking, "What do you think I ought to give?" His check arrives on the named date by the first mail. It is in that way, with the fewest possible words that Brandeis through the writer has since 1914 devoted large sums to Palestinian causes. And if we labor the point it is only because he expects all others to live up to his simple code.

Equally firm is his other interpretation of responsibility, clear understanding of facts and figures. He finds poetry in exactitude, and color and motion in clear statements and columns of figures. The rhetorician breaks down in the attempt to declaim an exact total, hence he employs round numbers. In Brandeis' simple and unaffected diction all the emotion is in the final unit. As he recites it, you are impressed that he has evaluated all

the component parts of the sum, not only in money, but in force and in human power; that there is vision and certitude behind the record; that he has been at pains to learn the truth, because every truth has its permanent value in the scheme of things. Month by month for years he read each item of the Zionist reports, analyzed and commented. In like manner he has taken stock of men and of the whole content not only of Palestine, but of all that Jewish movement which in one way or another has come within the purview of Zionism. He has on occasion allowed that imponderable, "Jewish psychology" to prevail in the working out of a practical problem, but he has always added, "I believe arithmetic is the mother of safety," and in every case the balance sheet proved him right.

A penciled note in the margin of an "office committee minute" gives the full measure of the Brandeisian attitude to that all-covering item of expense in political accounts—"propaganda." He wrote, "I see no objection to these various expenditures if you get current checking up of results at least once a month. But the time has come after our long preparation when we should get evidence of results." And it was the attempt to crystallize *Stimmung* (sentiment) in terms of ascertainable accomplishment that first led to the description of the authority he exercised as "autocratic."

III

Though regarded as somewhat aloof, a "distant person," Brandeis is not only most democratic and simple in his personal habits but he is a thorough believer in democ-

racy. Whilst from the moment he became prominent in Zionism a group of extremely diverse personalities surrounded him and carried through many of the tasks which made the Brandeis régime successful, his whole striving was toward the creation of a thoroughly democratic movement, an organization which should rely for its political power as well as for its financial strength upon mass support. He believes neither in demagogy as a means of power over the masses, nor in mobocracy as an expression of the public mind. He accepts *a priori* the view that the Jews are intelligent reasoning beings, and that they have thousands of years of culture behind them, and that reasoning, facts and figures should appeal to them. His code is "unity in action."

That is why early in his Zionist administration he drew all the forces of Zionism in this country together, but encouraged each party to give free play to its own viewpoint. He wanted Zionism to penetrate every element in Jewry. So thanks to him the straggling army of the Poali Zion became for a time a real force, and the Mizrachi hitherto practically unknown in the United States was given every opportunity to become a power. He made every possible attempt to draw the B'nai Zion out of its insurance shell, and encouraged every effort to spread the Federation, Hadassah and Young Judea. Believing at all times that it is wise to spend a thousand dollars on gathering one thousand individual dollars, provided there is sentiment and understanding behind the gift, he favored during the period of political effort, subsidies to the weaker groups; always provided a critical analysis was permitted of the product resulting from the

investment—another stumbling block to those satisfied with round figures and oral reports.

He has no urge for publicity of the personal kind, and his favorite formula for propaganda is the volunteer effort "by word of mouth." He wants thinking Jews to provoke other Jews to think about Zion. It sounds like an impracticable doctrine of perfection. Yet it was tried and it worked. From the fall of 1914 to the summer of 1915 the Zionists had no real press of their own, no stirring publicity department, and only intermittent support from the Yiddish press which was still in doubt as to the correct war policy and therefore hesitated to support *ad hoc* the Brandeisian pro-ally program. The cost of the organization in all its ramifications ran into some twenty thousand dollars for the year. Yet the Boston Convention, held ten months after Brandeis took office, exhibited one hundred times the strength in numbers, and ten thousand times the enthusiasm and vigor shown a year before at Rochester.

"Never before in Zionist history had so much work been done in one year," was a fair interpretation of the Brandeisian practical leadership. The nature of that work was emphasized in the statement that the Federation societies had within ten months increased from 198 to 270, "with an increase of from 25 to 75 per cent in the membership of the older societies." One cautious participant in the sessions summed up the new development by saying, "at last for Zionism the day for little things is over." When the Zionist forces reassembled a year later at Philadelphia the old administrative forces were baffled by the results they had aided in creating. They revelled

in the figures of banquet and session attendances. A quarter of a million dollar budget was adopted without hesitation, and a million dollar stock corporation for Palestine development purposes was decided upon. Moreover the health needs were recognized and Hadassah was authorized to prepare and equip a Medical Unit for service in Palestine. In two years the Brandeisian influence had produced a result which was frankly criticized: "too little time was devoted to theoretical reviews and academic formulations of policy." The convention it was alleged was "too practical . . . too much concerned with practical plans."

In 1917 the Baltimoreans claimed the honor of the annual sessions and undertook to surpass all previous Zionist demonstrations. Three theatres were required to house the convention activities, and the administration, by large display signs and brochures, made known the remarkable growth during the year in membership and financial support. All previous records were surpassed. Baltimore witnessed "the largest gathering of representatives of the Zionist movement which has so far met in the United States." The Zionist movement had become the virile and mass cohesive force in American Jewry.

The war too made natural drains on American Zionist man power, and the organization had to contend with the obvious difficulty that many Jews could not swallow the avowed Zionist support of the allied cause. Moreover there was an internal problem--some earnest Zionists were serious pacifists.

The old officers were reluctant in 1914 to leave East Broadway to make their home in Mr. Nathan Straus' office on West 42nd Street. When that space was out-

grown no little negotiation was required to induce all the forces within the Federation to take common quarters in East 23rd Street and with equal timidity they betook themselves later to the strange fastnesses of lower Fifth Avenue. These resistances were as characteristic of the spirit in which new tasks were accepted as the enlargement of office space and the expansion of personnel was evidence of the growth of the organization and of the increase in the variety of its interests.

IV

The detailed monthly reports, which grew in volume with each succeeding month, not only provided Brandeis with the data by which he watched the movement of every dollar that passed through the office, the abundant statistics enabled him also to observe the activity and response to appeals made by every Zionist group. Preparatory to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration Brandeis stood ready to face the new era in Zionism. For this circumstance, a card system listing 250,000 names had been prepared in the Zionist office in August 1917. Hence early in 1918 an agitation was started to end the private vested interest and hominess of Zionist clubs. It was only after a stubborn fight at Pittsburgh in 1918 that old local organization leaders gave up their proprietary rights, and accepted the idea that the movement should be wide open, an affiliation of the individual Jew to his residental district and not a question of acceptability to a local club group. By this act the Brandeis régime created a number of disgruntled supporters who did not like the new order of things. The dimensions of

the Pittsburgh Convention held in the summer of 1918 were on so large a scale that the inner organization struggle did not attract much attention. The Pittsburgh Zionists engaged the largest available building, miles away in the suburbs, in order to house the throngs that participated in the convention deliberations. A group of women, gold-starred mothers, led a remarkable procession that signified the influence Zionism had won in that city. And at one session, on a cable from London that the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd., the financial instrument of the movement, needed additional capital, thirty thousand shares of stock (costing $150,000) were purchased outright by individual delegates in an hour.

But the new organization policy immediately justified itself, for by the summer of 1919 the membership had been increased to 149,013 [1] with a total shekel registration of 172,887, a figure that put the American organization in a paramount position in world Zionism. These results had been achieved by establishing contacts in three thousand cities and towns in the U. S. A. There was no make-believe about these figures. The cash record and the membership roll balanced, and the "achievement record" proudly issued gave a clear review of the immediate individual contribution to Zionism of every local group recorded in the statistical report.

Political exigencies caused this membership and these contacts to be tested and within the same year (1919) the army of volunteers produced in short order a petition addressed to President Wilson signed by 523,048 indi-

[1] This increase was brought about by enrolling 100,028 shekel payers, listing and then canvassing them in the interest of the American Organization. Of the 100,028 no less than 62,935 became members.

viduals. New York City enrolled 234,451 of these signatures. Massachusetts 28,727. From 1,034 small towns came 24,503 signatures and the 265 Zionist districts outside of New York City collected in all 264,094 signatures. This huge petition was card indexed in preparation for an effort which was designed to bring one third of American Jewry within the membership ranks of the organization. That effort was never put forward. It gave way before the internal struggle against the "silent leadership."

V

The Brandeis régime did not specialize on money raising. Collecting funds was part of the organized and continuous effort, but it was only part of the daily routine. Yet even here it made a remarkably good showing in three directions. It pressed the Joint Distribution Committee successfully to give generously to Palestine, thus relieving the Zionists to some extent. It built up the Transfer Department through which millions passed, and it raised considerable amounts for Palestinian and Zionist purposes.

The original Emergency Budget had been set at $100,000 for two years, but soon after Brandeis organized his forces and ascertained the facts as to Palestinian needs the financial scope of the organization was enlarged. In the first three months the Emergency Funds totalled $54,386 and in addition $34,890 was raised for Palestinian relief. May 31st, 1915, the treasurer proudly announced that from the previous September 24 he had transmitted for all purposes $346,834 to Palestine. The total receipts in the first twenty months of the Brandeis

régime mounted to $1,500,000, including the Transfer account. Besides this $100,000 was raised in loans to maintain existing Palestinian agricultural enterprises.

The Balfour Declaration was issued November 2, 1917. Shortly thereafter a special conference was called in Baltimore, and the Restoration Fund established to replace the Emergency Fund. The discussion centered around raising the first million of a hundred million dollars to be gathered eventually for the restoration of Palestine. This buoyant attitude inspired the first real attempt at campaigning for funds, and the collection for 1918 totalled $1,500,000 independent of the Transfer account. During the last half of 1919 the income was over half a million dollars and as reported at Buffalo in October 1920, the ten months' record for that year showed for all purposes one million nine hundred thousand dollars had been received. That figure is impressive because in 1920 there was not a single foreign visitor to aid in the propaganda in this country, and during three months practically every important officer was either in Europe attending the London Zionist Conference or on his return was devoted to the serious aftermath that conference had produced. The costs were kept down to about twelve per cent, and the figures quoted do not include any of the special loans raised for Palestine which passed through the organization records but were not included in its balance sheets.

Nor do the foregoing receipts include the large sums handled by the Transfer Department which, had not other matters obscured, may well have been regarded as the worthwhile and record-breaking achievement of the

Brandeis régime. At the conference in 1914 which created the American Jewish Relief Committee, the writer ventured to point out that more money could be raised by affording Jews in America an opportunity to reach their relatives in Europe than by any other effort. The A. J. R. C. would not listen, but Brandeis grasped the idea and within a few weeks the American Zionist office was experimenting with the transfer of funds from private individuals in America to their relatives in Palestine. This account rose rapidly from a few dollars a day to $35,000 in the first three months; to $119,515 in the first five months; to $490,115 in the first nineteen months, when 15,000 individual remittances had been handled. It was then decided to extend the service to the occupied territories in Europe, and the receipts swelled to $3,000 a day and still went forward as the promptitude and success of this medium of communication became known among individuals interested in helping their relatives in the war-affected areas.

The Transfer Department served Jew and non-Jew alike, without cost to sender or recipient, and its ramifications extended throughout all the war zones occupied by the allies, and throughout Turkey, Syria, Palestine, to Trans-Jordan and Bagdad. It became a department that sought and found people worlds asunder. It safely delivered money under romantic circumstances, and often at considerable risk to the messenger. Practically not a cent of the millions handled was lost. Starting by using the good offices of the U. S. Department of State as a means of communication and deposit, it became so successful and so reliable that it was employed by the Treas-

urer of the United States to deliver monies and messages which the Government could not handle successfully.

An Arab in Boston desired to send a few dollars to a friend in Petra. A Greek in Terra Haute, Indiana, wanted to befriend someone in Anatolia. The Greek Church in the U. S. A. wanted to reach the Metropolitan in Constantinople. Jews wanted to help their families in Poland. Chassidim forced out of Jerusalem were located in the refugee camps in Alexandria. Money collected in America found its way into the prison at Damascus, into the detention camp at Aleppo, and even reached the prisoners at Broussa. For a time the green receipt of the Z. P. E. C. Transfer Department was "current money with the merchants" throughout Palestine and thus set at naught the Turkish decision to close the Zionist banks. All these and many other things were part of the daily routine of the Transfer Department.

The cold hard austere Brandeis régime which craved no publicity, and which during the war could not have told these stories publicly, did all these things, took the risks, and inspired others to take like risk. Perhaps the senders appreciated what was done for them at no cost, perhaps afterwards some of them learned how gold was carried through the Taurus Passes. This Transfer Department in its non-sectarian service was unique in Jewish history. The rank and file of Zionists probably never gave it a thought, but governments knew. They appreciated the endless improvisations in transmission which the changing war front demanded, to the point that embassies in European capitals advanced cash on the requisition of the Executive Secretary in New York.

CHAPTER IV

STATIONS TO THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

I

In 1915 a group of young lawyers frankly told Brandeis that they could not understand how he could assume the risk of a struggle the end of which could not be foreseen. Brandeis in response pointed out that he had warned them of that risk. But just because there was risk and doubt as to the outcome of the adventure, he had chosen to take his place in the Jewish ranks. But he added with a rare note of pride, at the end of the battle he would be able to say, "I was at Ivry, you were not there."

His willingness to don armor for his cause was shown at the Boston Zionist Convention of 1915 when the first difference arose on a far-reaching policy. For six months preceding the sessions there had been talk in Democratic Jewish circles of the need for an American Jewish Congress. Abraham Shomer, the original protagonist, maintained that through such an instrument, a responsible Jewish corporate entity could be created, but the mass of those who favored the idea sought a real representative expression of the American Jewish attitude toward the new problems that confronted the Jews everywhere. Every attempt to induce one of the existing Jewish organizations to become responsible for convening a congress was sidetracked. The erstwhile champion of Jewish democratic idealism, Dr. J. Leon Magnes, helped to produce a call, issued by the American Jewish Committee, for a conference to which only the representatives of rec-

ognized established organizations would be invited. Both sides sought the support of the Zionists. The congress advocates urged the rights of democracy and demanded an open congress which would put an end to "back stairs" influence at the close of the war. The conference advocates claimed that a limited gathering would be free from hectic speech and language dangerous in war time, and by keeping Zionism in any form outside of the discussion promised that the Zionists would be given a free hand in all Palestinian questions.

These opposing views were put before Brandeis in the midst of an exciting session in which old affiliations were broken, so keen was the difference and deep the emotion. Brandeis seized at once on the compromising limitations used by the American Jewish Committee, and the "extraordinary infirmity in the call for the conference." Moreover the conference call side-stepped the acknowledgment of the existence of the Jewish people. Hence on three principles, the rights of democracy, the need for a free and self-governing deliberative body, and the nationalist dogma, Brandeis decided for the congress and against the conference. This cutting through plausible compromises shocked not a few, and they hesitated to follow the Zionist leader. But whilst others were pondering over the theories involved in the creation of this new Jewish democracy, Brandeis was in the saddle and waging sharp war for the cause he had undertaken to champion.

The substance of the struggle in 1916 differs little from that which confronts Jewry in 1929. Then the difference concerned the Jewish Congress; now it applies to the extension of the Jewish Agency. To quote a commentator [1]

[1] *American Jewish Chronicle*, July 14, 1916.

on the 1916 conference for "peace and unity": "Dr. Magnes urged that all principles should be set aside in coping with the present need of the Jewish people. He goes beyond that expressing the conviction that temporary cooperation is possible without teaching the basic principles. All this sounds well. But think! The question is not one of relief. It is *Jewish Rights* that are under discussion. For those who recognize the nationalistic character of the Jewish problem there is only one solution: The nationalistic character of the Jewish problem must be recognized by the world." Brandeis would readily subscribe to that statement for it defines his attitude.

It was a public attack on Brandeis in July 1916, after his election to the Supreme Court, at a session held to consider the two forms, congress or conference, that led him to withdraw from active participation in the congress movement, and reduced him to the "silent leader" in Zionism, with Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Judge Julian W. Mack as his successors in office as head of the Zionist Organization.

Despite this attack on himself, Brandeis stood loyally by the "congressists" in their battle against the conference group, a unique alliance of the American Jewish Committee affiliations with the *Vorwarts* group, and he took a keen interest in all the plans for a democratically elected congress. But he parted company with the congress movement—except in its purely Zionist aspect in 1918—when its leaders compromised on the limitations of its life and permissible subjects of discussion. Brandeis believed it was essential to the proper ordering of the house of American Israel that a democratically elected representative body should be created which by reason of its

dependence on a wide-spread suffrage should and could become the final body of appeal and decision in American Jewry. That such a body would recognize the Zionist ideal as a paramount issue was to him a matter of wisdom and statecraft. But his interest went deeper.

He had a well-defined concept of permanent organization and believed American Jewry needed a tribune from which the moral purpose of Jewish life should be acclaimed in no uncertain terms. Indeed his thought went further. He has an innate objection to authority without responsibility and he believed a congress was necessary in order to establish, through mass suffrage, responsibility and authority in American Jewish affairs. Being devoted to the Palestinian solution of the Jewish problem European Jewish matters interested him only so far as they touched on the general problem. But the detail of American Jewish life interested him hugely. He perceived its chaos and its self-baffling rivalries and he felt no cost in time, money and effort was too great to establish the proper mechanism for the exercise of moral authority in Jewry. In a word he wanted the American Jewish Congress to be not an institution but *the* institution of American Jewry.

II

To the political and diplomatic achievements of Zionism during the war and at the peace conference in Paris Brandeis and his American Zionist régime contributed notably. His personal contacts prior to his elevation to the Supreme Court were ample, and the forthrightness of his methods enlisted immediate support where another at-

tempting to gain his point by long and difficult negotiation would perhaps have failed. Technically, until the Zionist *Actions Comité* in Berlin formally transferred all its powers to the American organization in May 1915, American participation in world Zionist policies was in the nature of an intrusion.

Early in the fall of 1914 Brandeis perceived the identity of purpose in Zionist aims and American idealism. Hence he did not hesitate to approach President Wilson, who sympathized fully with Brandeis' Zionist views, and then proceeded to discuss the future of Palestine with the British and French Ambassadors in Washington. Spring-Rice was already at that date in accord with the Zionist Palestinian policy, the realization of the Basle program, and reported the British government as favoring a program for Jewish settlement in Palestine that was far more concrete than was later stipulated in the famous Balfour Declaration. A larger opportunity to exercise his influence came in October 1917 when President Wilson publicly appointed Brandeis to collate the material on which the eventual peace should be established. But Brandeis did not rely merely on personal influence, however valuable, to effect his aim. He made his Zionist forces serve to the uttermost the purpose for which the movement existed.

Brandeis unhesitatingly banked on Allied victory when he took office as Zionist leader, but the Zionists in Europe were naturally divided according to each local allegiance. Russian Jews were however not in sympathy with the Russian cause, and thousands of Jews everywhere rightly felt that every Russian victory in eastern Europe was a gain for the forces of oppression. It was not until the

fall of Czardom that a simple pro-allied attitude became possible in this country and elsewhere. Moreover there were Zionists who were pacifists and conscientious objectors to war in every form.

This mixed situation created an excellent opportunity for German propaganda both in America and in Poland. Therefore until America went into the war the American Zionist organization had to be handled with considerable skill in order to maintain its pro-ally alignment. Fortune favored this policy. The German Hilfs-Verein which had raised the language question in Palestine in 1912–13 during the first year of the war proposed to exercise its technical rights over the Haifa Technicum and attempted to sell the property under the hammer. This act lost the Germans much American Jewish good will.

The next big German Jewish blunder was the announcement, after German arms had successfully established themselves in Poland, that the Berliners would at the end of the war favor the policy of *Grenzsperre,* that is, maintaining the Polish Jews within the lines of their old political frontier. This selfishly stupid policy did much to rally the Polish Jews to the allied program of a free Poland.

The Brandeisian policy throughout this situation was to keep all pro-Germans and all German propaganda at arms' length. This decision required tact, determination and a mass of information. The Zionist Organization had no secrets to hide, but to keep it clear of German influence, disguised in the most benevolent and insidious forms of intrigue, was no light task. It was however accomplished.

To this defensive policy there was added a constructive

and novel aggressive policy. By freely rendering service to American officials the American Zionist Organization won the friendship and good will of those who could not be influenced permanently by importunate effort. The objective was not merely to maintain the esteem and willing cooperation of President Wilson himself, but to permeate every avenue of his administration, and the whole British service in this country, with a sympathetic understanding of Zionism.

This policy of peaceful penetration was successfully carried out thanks to the contacts of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Mrs. Joseph Fels, the writer, and several others. To obtain, among all the important issues that made the war, serious attention for day to day difficulties that arose in Palestine and for the Zionist view of its future, required a good deal more effort than winning the favorable ear of the President. Successful diplomacy meant much more than that. No public attention was given to high diplomacy until towards the end of 1917, but during the first years of the war many Palestinian situations could only be solved by American intervention.

Between Turkish military orders and Jewish fears, about half the Jewish population of Palestine was compelled to flee the country. An American gunboat took the refugees to Alexandria, and a British administration with Zionist aid was established over the refugee camps in Egypt. In 1915 Palestine was reported starving. The U. S. Collier Vulcan was loaded with nine hundred tons of supplies at Philadelphia and two American Zionists were sent over to distribute the cargo. Attempts were made to get the valuable orange crop of Palestine out of the coun-

try, as well as a cargo of wine. Once our country was in the war even the transfer of money from individuals to individuals in occupied war zones called for endless negotiations with officials to whom the map of Eastern Europe was an impossible and unintelligible jig-saw puzzle.

The decision to send a medical unit to Palestine was made in the summer of 1916, but it was nearly a year later before the unit was actually despatched. Negotiations had to be carried on with the British, the French and the Italian war departments for the passage of the unit through their territories. Before sailing the State Department had to be persuaded to issue to the American Zionist Medical Unit and to its insignia, the Shield of David, privileges that placed the Unit on an equality with the American Red Cross organization. The charter for that unit—involving our government in stamping the *Mogen David* on American Zionists' passports—was only obtained after great effort.

The actual sailing of the Unit involved the sanction of the War Department, the Passport Division, the Treasury which controlled the docks and shipping, and the agreement of the military and naval authorities to carry the Unit to England. The "open sesame" which made such a combined act possible could not come from above. To the contrary, the task was accomplished from the ground up, and was only possible because under the Brandeis method of arousing individual interest in the cause, an appreciation of Zionism penetrated every governmental department and wherever needed, there was an understanding Zionist ready to smooth and cement the necessary contacts.

III

Having served under the two political Zionist leaders, Herzl and Brandeis, the author, allowing for the difference in time and opportunity, may compare the manner and method of political approach applied by both men. Herzl's diplomacy was conceived as a brilliant game of chess between the man and the whole world. The Zionist organization served Herzl as a background and the movement as a sounding board. He conceived the play, a master stroke, and some of his intimate aides were called in to help set the pieces in position.

If Brandeis knows chess he has never alluded to it, and has never employed its tactics. He never thinks in the accepted terms of diplomacy. He is too precise, concise and definite for its circumlocutions and its circumambulations. If, to use a chess term, he ever indulged in a "surprise opening" it was not because he intended to surprise his opponent but because he avoided all forms of fencing and came directly to the point. In every discussion with Brandeis there existed the presupposition that both sides knew why they met.

His skill in action was in the employment of the best forces at his immediate command to carry out the details of an operation. This method not only relieved him of detail and left him fairly free to think out the general bearings of any act, but it enabled him to employ the Zionist organization to great advantage. Zionism had its supporters in every country in the world, and as its membership increased in the United States it numbered its adherents in every American city. This vast army of humans was gradually inventoried and as the need arose employed

to render those services which in war time aroused the good will and the respect of those men whose signatures counted in great affairs. The cost of all such service, an infinitesimal amount, was paid by the Zionist organization. The returns were in a form of reliance on the capacity for performance which created wide confidence in the movement.

In this attitude towards utilization of the organization Herzl reflected Vienna and the nineties and Brandeis epitomized Washington and the twentieth century. But in other ways these two men had much in common, single-mindedness, devotion to detail, freedom from legalism, intense moral urge though expressed differently, and keen desire to provoke initiative on the part of Jews in the solution of their problem. Both men demanded loyalty, but neither understood organization in its present accepted formulation of "machine" partisanship. Their opportunities differed. Brandeis proved himself master of the art of deploying forces for the advance of Zionism.

Had the British political service or the French High Commission in Washington been asked in 1918 whether the Zionists were capable of rebuilding Palestine, of moving a mass of people there, and of capitalizing their effort the answer would have been unhesitatingly, yes. The same answer would have been given by so powerful a body as the American Federation of Labor.

In September 1917, the A. F. of L. staged an anti-peace conference in Minneapolis and the local hostility was such that even the veteran Gompers was awed by the obstacles that confronted him in his endeavor to keep American labor in line and impress European radicalism with the

pro-war spirit of the American workingmen. By that time the American Zionist organization had achieved so excellent a reputation in government circles, that two of Gompers' aides turned to the Zionist organization for help. A two hours' conference in New York resulted in the despatch of two Zionists en route for Minnesota to smooth the path of the Labor conference.

The story of this particular "button pressing" effort would make an exhilirating chapter in organization history. Suffice it for this record that the labor demonstration was a success of such dimensions that Gompers, when he crossed the Atlantic with the author on their way to the Peace Conference, referred with much eloquence to what he regarded as the best exhibition of discipline and resourcefulness that he had witnessed in his long life as an organizer.

From the beginning of 1917 when Brandeis foresaw the entrance of the United States in the war he worried considerably not only over the necessary general reorganization of the Zionist forces in America, but he was equally anxious that the Zionist victory he clearly foresaw should be earned by the fullest possible participation in the army. The characteristic doubt as to the Jews providing their full military quotas to the allied armies had reached Washington, and to counteract it the American Zionist office prepared at considerable difficulty a statement of the relative contribution of the Jews to all the European armies. Immediately after the draft law went into operation this statement was followed by a private inspection, made under Zionist auspices, of the principal training camps in the seaboard states and the south, and the fig-

ures showing that the Jews had enlisted above their ratio to the population was submitted both to the Secretary of War and to the White House.

To procure such data Brandeis and his aides drew upon thousands of Zionists everywhere. These unknowingly served, during the long trying time when allied victory seemed so often in the balance, to create confidence in Zionism. And confidence in Zionist resourcefulness and discipline was the asset that Brandeis could employ with great skill in his diplomatic policy.

Just as in 1915 Brandeis' approval of the theory of the American Jewish Congress was instantly followed by aggressive and effective action, so in 1917 his acceptance of the principle of the Jewish Legion for Palestine led immediately to active recruiting. In England a similar movement had to be started independently of the Zionist Organization because the leaders were doubtful of the wisdom of the act.

In the United States however so keen was the desire for action that at the outset an attempt was made to relate the proposed recruiting to the Canadian service. Brandeis saw in the Legion a proper organization task and therefore within forty-eight hours of his approval of the project, negotiations were in motion in half a dozen directions to obtain official American and British aid, and a recruiting office opened in New York. The result was that within a few months over four thousand young men embarked from America to Palestine.

Complete accord was established with the British Military authorities in this country and the recruiting was carried out under their supervision. This operation was not merely a flamboyant gesture of carrying the Zionist

colors in military procession through the streets of New York and into the British army besieging Palestine. The families of the Legionaires were cared for, supplies were sent to the recruits at the training camp in Canada, and a hundred services rendered to these men who were zealous for the recapture of Zion. The enormous detailed job was obscured by the blare of the street band and the huzzahs that greeted the Jewish colors as they were trooped daily on Broadway at Twenty-third Street. It fully realised Brandeis' *parole de guerre:* "Members, money, discipline. That is true preparedness."

IV

The great Zionist diplomatic achievement of the war was the issuance of the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917. As previously related Brandeis had received verbal assurances from President Wilson and the British Ambassador in 1914 as to the allied policy to be applied towards Palestine. At that time some of the British officials favored the gradual acquisition of authority in Palestine by the Jews. They were thinking of mass Jewish settlement and the opening up of successive areas in orderly progress.[1]

[1] Compare footnote to page 89. In 1915 the author received information which warranted him in writing an open letter published August 16, 1915, to American Jewish leaders which contained the following question: "If when the war comes to an end all the belligerent powers, seeking permanent peace, should, in order to adjust their relations in Asia Minor, and to solve an internal problem, decide to neutralize Palestine, and its hinterland, and for that purpose they call in the Jews and offer them with the consent and support of the Suzerain free access and all necessary powers to create a home-rule land—would you oppose the powers so acting, or would you oppose the Jews so accepting?"

Phases of the American Jewish Congress agitation, the attacks on the American Zionists for their publicly voiced glowing hopes of the after-war prospects of Zionism coupled with the direct news of negotiations in process in London brought by European visitors, led in the spring of 1916 to the reopening of the diplomatic discussions with President Wilson and the British Ambassador. The assurances reduced to a six-line memorandum with the initials "W. W." were wholly satisfactory.

In the early spring of 1917 the attitude of Great Britain towards a Jewish settlement in Palestine had become a matter of public discussion and American diplomatic resistance to an immediate official announcement was based on the difficulties that would follow any British statement unsupported by the agreement of France and Italy. The press even discussed a Jewish Republic in Palestine, but President Wilson whose interest in Palestine and Poland was profound made it abundantly clear that whilst he was determined to aid the Zionist cause he would not add to the possible friction between allied powers by previous action; nor would he countenance the proposals launched in England for an American suzerainty over Palestine and Armenia.

America was not at war with Turkey and as matters stood the American approach to the Near Eastern question was through the capitulations to which the American government still held fast. There was therefore some confusion for a time in the British Palestinian project which appeared to recognize the Suzerain government. The belief that Turkey was to remain the suzerain created considerable excitement, but after an interchange of heated and perplexing cables it was made manifest that the Brit-

ish by "suzerain" meant the United States, though they had left a door open for themselves. The Palestinian Jewish prospects were thus summarized in a British official war book: [1]

> Palestine is to be recognized as the Jewish National Home.
>
> Jews of all countries to be accorded full liberty of immigration.
>
> Jews to enjoy full national, political and civic rights according to their place of residence in Palestine.
>
> A Charter to be granted to a Jewish Company for the development of Palestine.
>
> The Hebrew language to be recognized as the official language of the Jewish Province.

In May 1917 prior to the arrival of the Balfour Mission to the United States, President Wilson took occasion to afford ample opportunity for the discussion of Zionist Palestinian prospects, and the occasion was not neglected. At the first official reception given by President

[1] In view of the limitations set up by the Churchill "White Paper" of 1922 the following detailed statement by the British War Department in April 1917 will be read with interest:

It is proposed that the following be adopted as the heads of a scheme for a Jewish re-settlement of Palestine in accordance with Jewish National Aspirations:

1. *BASIS OF SETTLEMENT*
   Recognition of Palestine as the Jewish National Home.
2. *STATUS OF JEWISH POPULATION IN PALESTINE GENERALLY*
   The Jewish population present and future throughout Palestine is to possess and enjoy full national, political and civic rights.
3. *IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE*
   The Suzerain Government shall grant full and free rights of immigration into Palestine to Jews of all countries. (*Continued on next page.*)

Wilson for Mr. Balfour, the latter singled out Brandeis as one with whom he desired private conversation.

Mr. Balfour while in Washington summarized his own attitude in a single sentence, "I am a Zionist." But while Balfour and Brandeis met as often as circumstances demanded other Zionists met and discussed the Palestinian problem with all those members of the British mission whose understanding it was thought desirable to cultivate. This was made necessary because at that particular juncture the creation of an American mandatory for Palestine —a policy Brandeis did not favor—was being persistently discussed in the European press.

Originally the London negotiations took the form of an attempt by the Zionists to obtain a definition of the British and French policies towards Palestine. In these discussions initiated by Dr. Moses Gaster (who aroused Sir Herbert Samuel's interest in Zionism and Palestine), Sir Mark Sykes and M. Picot, the authors of the Sykes-Picot treaty with Italy, represented their respective governments. It is probably due to the hampering effect of this secret treaty that the eventual Balfour Declaration lacked the concrete expression which had characterized the ear-

4. *THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHARTERED COMPANY*
The Suzerain Government shall grant a Charter to a Jewish Company for the colonization and development of Palestine, the Company to have power to acquire and take over any concessions for works of a public character, which may have been or may hereafter be granted by the Suzerain Government and the rights of pre-emption of Crown Lands or other lands not held in private or religious ownership and such other powers and privileges as are usual in Charters or Statutes of similar colonizing bodies.
5. *COMMUNAL AUTONOMY*
Full autonomy is to be enjoyed by Jewish Communities throughout Palestine in all matters bearing upon their educational, religious or communal welfare.

lier American negotiations. The need for a public statement arose in England owing to the protests anti-Zionists were making to their government.

Mr. Edwin Montagu was a member of the War Cabinet and his Jewish affiliations as well as his personal inclinations were anti-Zionist. He and other influential English Jews exerted pressure to prevent the government from approving the Zionist program. Dr. Weizmann indeed believed in September 1917 that these English anti-Zionists were in touch with their American friends and had organized themselves into a very powerful group. He therefore looked for American support to counteract the opposition in London where the political situation was somewhat disconcerting. Lloyd George, the Premier, bluntly stated that he could not understand the anti-Zionist Jews. Mr. Balfour, General Smuts, Lord Milner and Mr. Barnes the representative of labor were all frankly in favor of a declaration, and naturally they too were perplexed by the attitude of the Jewish opposition. The Zionist memorandum presented just prior to the discussion of the final stages of the negotiations urged that after three years of debate:

> The problem be considered in the light of imperial interests and the principles for which the Entente stands. . . . We therefore now humbly pray that this declaration may be granted to us and this would enable us to further consolidate Jewish public opinion in the Entente countries to counteract all the demoralizing influence which the enemy press is endeavoring to exercise by holding out vague promises to the Jews and finally to make the necessary preparations

for the constructive work which would have to begin as soon as Palestine is liberated.

This memorandum which was addressed to Mr. Balfour was signed by Lord Rothschild then President of the English Zionist Federation and Dr. Weizmann. The Declaration was therefore eventually addressed by Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild.

No anti-Zionist hostility was experienced in the United States. A forecast of the coming declaration written by the author and published October 18, 1917, created no excitement and no opposition. The only pressure was the belief that recruiting for the Jewish Legion would be impossible until the allies had made a public statement, especially as all sorts of vague rumors were being spread as to what the Germans intended to do in Palestine if they won the war.

A considerable number of drafts were made in London and transmitted to the United States through War Office channels for the use of the American Zionist Political Committee. The American ascendance in the war councils led the British to ask for President Wilson's consent and approval of the terminology of the declaration before its issuance. The draft cabled from government to government, was handed to the Brandeis régime for its approval. After a most necessary revision, President Wilson, acting through Colonel House who was in full sympathy with the Zionist aims, authorized cabling to the British government the version that was published, and to which all the allied governments in turn gave their approval.[1]

[1] The European history of the Balfour Declaration has to some extent been elucidated by Lord Asquith in his recently published memoirs and

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
(At the age of 70)
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.
From an etching © Charles Barmore, Princeton, N. J.

V

Brandeis made the issuance of the Declaration an opportunity for immediate action. The founding of the Restoration Fund, the organization of the Jewish Legion and the transportation of the Medical Unit have been noted. No publicity was given to the organization at the beginning of 1918 of a group devoted to a careful study of the resources of Palestine, and a survey from historic sources of the boundaries of Palestine together with an estimate of the boundaries that in view of economic conditions would best serve the purpose of a large Jewish settlement.

by Leonard Stein, political secretary of the World Zionist Organization in "Zionism" (London 1925). The first attempt on the part of Dr. Weizmann and his associates to formulate a Zionist program for presentation to the British Government was made in October 1916. They fell back on the original Herzlian plan of a charter. The first conference with British officials is dated February 2, 1917. This evidently was the session held in the home of Haham Dr. Moses Gaster. The Anglo-Jewish protest against Zionism was made in the London *Times,* May 24, 1917. The formula which is the basis of the Balfour Declaration was drafted in July 1917. Mr. Stein in a footnote quotes a document of an earlier date March 13, 1916, published in "The partition of Asiatic Turkey as per the Secret Documents of the Former Foreign Office issued by the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs." This document is a memorandum of the British Embassy in Petrograd to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, S. D. Sazonoff, quoting a telegram from Sir Edward Grey to the effect that the question of settling Jews in Palestine had been brought to the notice of His Majesty's government. The British motive is there quoted frankly as seeking the support of the Jews everywhere for the allied cause and he urges Sir George Buchanan to request the Russian Government to give the question their immediate serious attention. Sir Edward Grey propounds "a project which would grant the Jews—when the colonists in Palestine have attained a position which will enable them to rival the Arabs in strength—the administration of their own internal affairs in the country." Mr. Stein took his facts from the *Rasovjet* of January 4, 1925 which quoted the extract from the Riga *Narodnaja Misl.* The first formal statement on the British Palestinian policy was published July 22, 1916; and the second in the beginning of July 1917, when Dr. Weizmann's efforts were public property.

Illustrative of the view of the British and American Governments' interest in the Jewish Homeland is the fact that the boundaries projected in New York in 1918, included the El-Arisch sector of the Sinai Peninsula, extending eastward to the line of the Hedjas railroad and north from Tyre to a line skirting the Hermon, thus including the whole of the Jordan watershed.[1]

From the latter part of 1916 Brandeis had been in communication by cable with the English Zionist leader Dr. Chaim Weizmann whose political efforts he earnestly supported. Later he came into more intimate contact through Prof. Felix Frankfurter who first met Dr. Weizmann at Algeciras at a conference in which Mr. Henry Morgenthau also participated. A more complete report of the English Zionist attitude was brought to this country by Aaron Aaronsohn who for a time acted as liaison officer between the English and American organizations. When therefore in the spring of 1918 the Weizmann Commission to Palestine was mooted Brandeis threw himself with great vim into the task of helping the Commission to proceed to Palestine. He regarded this move as a recognition in substance that would provide real contact with Palestine. The English were desirous that Americans should join the Commission—Walter E. Meyer did so unofficially later—but our government was averse to Americans participating in a political act which distinctly threatened our relations with Turkey, a power with which we were not at war. Consequently the American organization abstained from adding members to the Commission, but freely supplied Dr. Weizmann with money just as it

[1] This map was prepared by the well-known engineer, Leon S. Moisseiff.

had liberally financed the political tasks of the English organization the previous year.

Equally unostentatiously Brandeis began the draft of a charter for the future Jewish Homeland and it was in this connection that he first drew up the basis of what became known as the Pittsburgh Program. All of the American letters to Dr. Weizmann stressed the Brandeisian demand for "social justice." As early as January 13, 1918, Brandeis wrote on the general objectives of the Commission:

> "The utmost vigilance should be exercised to prevent the acquisition by private persons of land, water rights or other natural resources or any concessions for public utilities. These must all be secured for the whole Jewish people. In other ways, as well as this, the possibility of capitalistic exploitation must be guarded against. A high development of the Anglo-Palestine Company will doubtless prove one of the most effective means of protection. And the encouragement of all kinds of cooperative enterprise will be indispensable. Our pursuit must be primarily of agriculture in all its branches. The industries and commerce must be incidental merely—and such as may be required to ensure independence and natural development.

This was the nucleus of the program which the Pittsburgh Convention of June 1918 adopted. Half a dozen minds helped in the formulation of the Brandeisian outline of the code of social justice that should guide the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland.

Its terse sentences were penned by Brandeis. That convention was the apogee of American Zionism. One observer wrote, "It was the greatest event in the history of the Zionist movement after the first congress in Basle in 1897. It was the triumph of a great inspiration."

The Pittsburgh program declares:

In 1897 the first Zionist Congress at Basle defined the object of Zionism to be "the establishment of a publicly recognized and legally secured homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine." The recent declarations of Great Britain, France, Italy and others of the allied democratic states, have established this public recognition of the Jewish National Home as an international fact. Therefore, we desire to affirm anew the principles which have guided the Zionist movement since its inception and which were the foundation of the ancient Jewish state and of the living Jewish law embodied in the traditions of two thousand years of exile.

FIRST	We declare for political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex, or faith of all the inhabitants of the land.
SECOND	To insure in the Jewish National Home in Palestine equality of opportunity we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control by the whole people of the land, of all natural resources and of all public utilities.

THIRD All land, owned or controlled by the whole people, should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.

FOURTH The cooperative principle should be applied so far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings.

FIFTH The system of free public instruction which is to be established should embrace all grades and departments of education.

This program was carried by the American Zionist representatives to the Peace Conference in 1919 and was made the basis of every version of the mandate which the Americans offered to their fellow-Zionists for presentation to the Peace Council. The repeated rejection of these idealistic terms was perhaps the first rift between the European and trans-Atlantic Zionists who met in Paris. In 1929 it may be safely assumed that had the Pittsburgh Program been accepted and enforced, many of the problems that have vexed Zionists in the actual upbuilding of Palestine would never have arisen.

CHAPTER V

PEACE POLICIES AND VISIT TO PALESTINE

I

After General Lord Allenby captured Jerusalem and on the suggestion of Sir Mark Sykes entered the Holy City on foot, like a pilgrim, the war in Palestine moved according to schedule. Haifa, Acre and Damascus fell into British hands literally according to a prearranged and secretly circulated time-table. Therefore all through the spring and summer of 1918 Brandeis felt that the movement was politically safe and on an even keel. He could thus afford to give his mind to the wider ramifications of the peace policies as they would affect the Jews in Europe and the future Jewish Homeland. From the beginning of the war he had favored the policy of self-determination, and had drawn a clear line between the rights of the nations and of the lesser nationalities. As the war progressed he visioned the peace as a readjustment of all national rights in which the Jewish position in Palestine would be part of the natural content of a just peace for all peoples. On the Jewish position in Europe and particularly in Poland he anticipated the demand for specific guarantees in line with "minority rights." He made these views clearly known to the representatives of Poland in the United States who supported by President Wilson were anticipating the realization of a two-century-old dream, Free Poland.

The second half of the year 1918 called out all the

reserve vitality possessed by Brandeis and his associates for a hectic period of negotiation began early in July. This was stimulated by a letter written by President Wilson to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise on October 31st, in which he expressed "the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement in the United States and in the allied countries since the Declaration by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government." All the lesser nationalities of Eastern Europe emerged from the darkness of history to put forth their claims for self-determination. And each turned to the American Zionist Organization for aid in the presentation of its case. It was perhaps the only time that Jewish international mindedness was acknowledged useful by Moldavians, Transylvanians, Finns, Georgians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Croatians. Each was accorded a hearing, and each given that quiet aid which history and circumstances warranted. Whatever happened to these nationalities subsequently, Brandeis was helpful brother of a world in distress and dealt with all of them on that basis of equality which he desired for his fellow-Jews.

There was something of poetic justice in the support Brandeis, as the son of a Bohemian, could give Prof. Masaryk and the claims of the Czecho-Slovakian cause. But he was far more intent on building up a Palestinian Jewish policy and it was in accord with this idea that the Zionists gave loyal support to the Armenians whose claims rested less on the living than on the rights they asserted in the name of four million martyrs. The Zionist Organization of America for a time took the lead in asserting before the proper authorities the rights of the various peoples of Asia Minor. Brandeis in directing this

policy adopted a clear political attitude towards the Balfour Declaration. He had never used the phrase "Jewish Palestine" and in all probability has never asked its proponents what it implied. "Homeland" was to him a slowly evolving modern state, controlled only in its foreign relations. He filled the position of unofficial Ambassador of the Jewish people toward all the peoples in the triangle bounded by the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

It was in accordance with this program that account was kept of every Syrian, Arab and other agitation provoked in the United States which could affect Near Eastern affairs. Now there was no fear of Jewish anti-Zionist agitation in America. But immediately before and after the armistice an agitation for the creation of a sort of condominium of all the peoples of Asia Minor under the supervision of an American board of control gave much concern. The publication of the plan, putting its protagonists on the defensive, completely disposed of this effort to put these diverse peoples in leading strings. From Armistice Day to the opening of the Peace Conference in Paris Brandeis put an added series of difficult duties upon his associates. They were given the onerous task of making clear to the Americans attached to the Peace Mission, the arguments of all the various claimants to national restoration.

The careful policy of contact building which had been pursued during the war served admirably when the Peace Conference began to take shape in Paris. All the important members of the Wilson Mission who were likely to be consulted on Palestine or on the Jewish phase of any European problem, were deliberated with prior to their

leaving New York. Strong in the possession of the President's personal interest—Mr. Wilson having said that the Jewish Homeland was one of the two permanent new achievements that would come out of the war—the representatives of the Brandeis Zionist administration proceeded to London and Paris. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. Joseph Fels, Bernard Flexner, and Louis Robison, constituted the first delegation. Subsequently were added Jacob de Haas, Felix Frankfurter and Howard Gans.

The first meeting of these American Zionists with their European associates developed the line of cleavage which eventually led to the overthrow of the Brandeis administration. Individually the European Zionist leaders had been war harassed. They were nervous, mercurial and quick to take alarm at every passing incident that suggested hurt to their hopes. Such incidents there were aplenty. The drama of the Feisal-Lawrence claims to the Near East, at one time extending from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, was played out in Paris, with the French press insulting the Arabian chieftain. Palestine ostensibly was part of every plan to solve the problem of the Near East. The Italians had hopes for a mandate in that territory and the leaders of the American Protestant Missions in those lands were not without belief that they might be given a blanket authority over the lands Feisal wanted. There were in all these projects endless occasions for worry on the part of the nervously inclined.

The American delegation with Dr. Wise at its head was met both in London and in Paris by divided forces. The existence of a two-headed political leadership in Europe had not been regarded seriously in New York, nor was it known that the English Zionists were only

supporting Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow because of the avowed American Zionist confidence in them. It was not difficult for Dr. Wise to maintain the good will for Zionism of Mr. Balfour, Col. House, M. Tardieu, the French High Commissioner to the United States, as well as that of President Wilson, by whom he was received, but on practical matters he found himself at odds with the two European Zionist leaders and their close associates. There was strong anti-American feeling in Zionist circles in London.

The boast that the memory of Herzl had been obliterated annoyed Dr. Wise and he found little wisdom in the conferences in which he participated. Brandeis knew that the Peace Conference would define the terms of the Mandate, which the American Jewish Congress urged should go to Great Britain, but he favored drawing a specific contract between the mandatory power, in its capacity as trustee for Palestine, and the Jewish people as represented by the Zionist Organization. Dr. Wise on his departure, and the second American delegation immediately on its arrival, was confronted with a plan which united in one document the terms of the proposed mandate as well as the relations of the mandatory power to the Jewish development in Palestine. These "proposals" apart from a liberal land reform policy, visualized Palestine as a type of British Crown Colony with a Jewish Governor, the recognition of the Jewish flag and Jewish festivals and Sabbaths, Hebrew as one of the official tongues, and political conditions that would give the Jewish minority majority rights in Palestine. The proposed settlement was about five thousand Jews a year. The plan moreover contained a clause for the creation of a Jewish Council

with its seat in Jerusalem. The last was the nucleus of what by endless amendment became Article IV of the mandate authorizing the creation of the Jewish Agency.

The authorship of the original draft proposals has not been established. Dr. Weizmann's own position in January 1919 was somewhat unique. Although acknowledged by the American Zionists and the British Government as the political leader of the movement, he had no official status in the World Zionist Organization. The Inner *Actions Comité* of 1913 was represented by Mr. Sokolow in Paris and Dr. Jacobsen, who had come from Copenhagen to London immediately after the Armistice. Technically though not actually these gentlemen were in control. Each was surrounded by a group of advisers whose exact status was not clear. Nor had any real preparation been made for the drafting of a plan for settlement of the area to be established as a political entity by the League of Nations or for drawing of maps of Palestine. The one available expert on Palestinian conditions, Aaron Aaronsohn, was in disfavor with both the European Zionists and the Palestinians. Definite responsibility for the Zionist negotiations was established with the aid of Dr. S. Levin who had come from America and who as the third member of the Inner *Actions Comité* helped to recreate the body on which Dr. Weizmann was co-opted.

The Americans who brought maps and economic data to London rejected the original draft proposals as inadequate. Nor, as it soon transpired, were the British political experts satisfied with those clauses in the draft which foreshadowed a repetition in Palestine of the obnoxious minority conditions that formerly existed in Canada. "Downing Street" was divided. Mr. Balfour in

Paris was pressing the Peace Conference to give speedy consideration to the Palestinian proposals. British officialdom which at that juncture believed there were only twenty thousand Jews in Palestine, was fearful of the Arabs, urged prudence, and the formulation of as little as possible until, as one official wrote, "The Jews as self-dependent citizens . . . establish by precept and example a life and civilization of justice and progress worthy of the highest and noblest ideals of Deuteronomy and Isaiah." Accepting this last sentence as a warrant for "social justice," the American Zionist representatives undertook to draw up a new set of "proposals" based on the Pittsburgh Program, which they believed would prove as acceptable to English idealism, as it would conform to the aspirations of the Zionists.

II

European Zionism was however at that moment a maze of contradictions. The mass of Russian, Central European and German Zionists who had responded enthusiastically to the Pittsburgh Program—it was the one American Zionist contribution with which they were familiar—were unrepresented in London and Paris during the Peace negotiations. Those East Europeans who had managed to gather in London immediately after the Armistice were opposed to progressive ideas. The British officials while they quoted Isaiah liberally objected to any attempt to put into practice in Palestine ideas that might encourage the rising tide of radicalism in England. Of the two influential Englishmen exceptionally well informed on Palestinian matters, Sir Mark Sykes who was in thorough sym-

pathy with the romance of Zionism died in Paris during the Peace sessions. The other, Col. Lawrence, was the exponent of the Feisal pretensions to a great Arabian state, in which he was willing to concede Palestine to the Jews under a mandate to the Arab kingdom, or he was ready to consider Palestine—dominantly Jewish—as one of a group of federated Arabian states. In neither case was "social justice" a serious issue.

The Americans therefore proceeded on new lines. They gathered information from the Eastern and Central European Zionists as to the mental preparedness of Zionists in those countries for real settlement. Forty-two thousand Russian Zionists had been registered as ready to proceed to Palestine. A considerable number of colonization groups had been founded in Russia and Poland and Isaac Goldberg of Wilna and A. I. Rosoff of Petrograd reported that 300,000,000 rubles were available—of which ten million had been transferred to London for settlement and economic work in Palestine. To this was added fifteen thousand Zionists in America who had reported their intention to settle in Palestine. These figures supplemented what was then regarded as reliable information, the statement that thousands of Jews in the disbanding armies from Central Europe to Siberia were ready to move *en masse* to Palestine. All these facts were used as propaganda among Zionist leaders, and the non-Jewish officials attached to various sections of the Peace Conference to gain support for speedy settlement on a large scale.

By the end of January the American delegation in London and Paris keeping in close contact by wireless with New York and Washington produced new "proposals"

for the settlement in Palestine of Jews at the rate of fifty thousand a year. American officials in Europe prior to this time had been impressed with the feeling that Zion "was going to be the plaything of a millionaire" and it was primarily to overcome this obstruction that Prof. Frankfurter was summoned to London to aid in advancing the "American idea" of mass action speedily accomplished. The leading European Zionists however still favored settlement on a small and individual scale. But the Americans in their new draft proposals adhered to the American view that the Mandatory power should exercise two functions.

First as Mandatory for the League of Nations and second as Trustee for the people of Palestine. This division of authority was important because the American plan following the Peace Council's definition of the three types of mandated areas was divided into two sections. First, an indefinite initial transition period during which the mandatory would exercise control and establish government and carry out land reform. In the second period when the Palestinian Commonwealth should come into existence the mandatory as trustee would have its functions limited to protecting the interests of the League of Nations and direct the foreign policy of Palestine. The plan called for progressive local autonomy in Palestine. The functions of the Jewish Council, to be created by a world congress, meeting in Jerusalem, were so enlarged as to include even the right to issue obligations. The Zionists undertook to establish an interim Council before 1920. Definite attitudes, and speedy action dominated the final proposals submitted to the Powers.

Col. House who rose from a sick bed to aid the Amer-

ican delegates met these plans with hearty approval and he enlisted the support of the American technical advisers for that phase of these proposals which stretched the boundaries of Palestine to El Arish in the Sinai Peninsula. The demand for larger area impressed him and President Wilson with the idea that the Zionists meant to create a real settlement in Palestine. Even French officialdom was sympathetic to real action though it demanded that French cultural interests in Palestine should be protected by a Zionist subsidy to French speaking classes in Palestinian schools. Informally it was understood that the transition period, from administered area to self-governing commonwealth, would last about ten years. All the American peace experts warmly seconded this draft which particularly appealed to them because it was the first attempt to present a concrete picture of a "mandate" in action. The "American idea" of Palestinian development made such progress that Dr. Weizmann began to negotiate with Mr. Brandeis for the convening of a world Zionist Congress in New York in the summer of 1919, instead of Jerusalem, for the purpose of organizing the "Jewish Council." This plan did not materialize because the Europeans demurred to being majorized by the seven hundred and fifty American delegates who according to the shekel record could attend a world Zionist Congress held in an American city.

In the meantime the American proposals were debated in Paris at a series of conferences between Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Sokolow, Bernard Flexner and the author. Sir Herbert Samuel presided over these sessions acting unofficially as the British spokesman. The substance of the American proposals was accepted as the text to be pre-

sented to the Peace Conference as the "Zionist proposals." To the final form the signatures of a group of Europeans and Americans were joyfully attached. French and Hebrew translations were prepared and the new phraseology "transition period," "trustee," and "commonwealth" presented intense but thrilling problems for the Hebraists, Yiddishists and other clerical assistants who saw the dream Zion emerging in concrete form in these new constitutional phrases.

During the final drafting of these proposals a wide difference of opinion had manifested itself between Dr. Weizmann and the author in one particular. While both agreed to the incorporation of the Balfour Declaration as the basis of the mandate and as to the need of asserting the historic rights of the Jews to Palestine, the author following the views frequently discussed by the Political Committee of the Z. O. A. avoided the phrase "Jewish Palestine" and particularly defined the commonwealth as the "Palestinian Commonwealth." Dr. Weizmann on the contrary demanded references to "Jewish Palestine" and "Jewish Commonwealth" in the proposed mandate. To this phraseology a leading British official took exception. He regarded this terminology as "political Zionism," which "can but embarrass the British Government," a condition he wished to avoid becoming public at the Zionist Conference which was about to be held in London. He was uneasy over the proposed functions of the Jewish Council for Palestine. "I don't like," he wrote, "political or extra Palestinian popular control of such a body. I want to see it perform effectually the gigantic task of agricultural and industrial development, of organizing immigration and colonization as a great non-profit-mak-

ing public utility society without the addition of political functions."

The American Zionists however undertook to exert influence with the American delegation in favor of the proposals which were formally submitted to the Peace Conference at the hearing given Dr. Weizmann and his associates on February 27, 1919, when Jews for the first time presented themselves in their own right before an assembly of the Powers. The success of that hearing was largely due to the fine detailed co-operation of Secretary of State Lansing.

The formal American proposals had their repercussion in the response President Wilson made to the delegation of the American Jewish Congress which called on him at the White House on March 2, 1919. Answering Judge Mack, Dr. Wise, Louis Marshall and Bernard G. Richards the President said:

> "As to your representations touching Palestine I have before this expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding Palestine. I am moreover persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people are agreed that in Palestine there shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish commonwealth."

In Paris the Peace Conference marked time during the President's return to America and it was due to his absence that the terms of the Palestine Mandate were not discussed by the Supreme Council. Political action was for a time suspended whilst the technical experts were

busy deciding whether Palestine should be referred to a Committee on Turkish Affairs or to a Committee on the Near East. The French were anxious to postpone decision until the Syrian question had been settled and were uncomfortable at the Syrian objections to a French mandate.

From the Balfour Declaration, issued with American consent and approved by France and Italy, to the grant of the mandate by the League of Nations to Great Britain under the express condition that it recognize the establishment of Palestine as the Jewish Homeland, was a long and tortuous diplomatic path. The concept of "mandates" was a new system of international trusteeship defined by President Wilson in the Fifth of his Fourteen Points as "a free, open-minded and absolute impartial adjustment of all colonial claims" in which "the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."

In the earlier stages of the Peace Conference the British were more concerned over the distribution of the Mandates than troubled over the exact language to be used to define the new authority. They were maintaining over a million soldiers in various parts of the Turkish Empire, and wished in the interest of the British taxpayer to withdraw their armies from those territories which they did not propose to occupy permanently. President Wilson however stood for the principle that "the degree of authority control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory state or states shall in each case be explicitly defined by the Executive Council of the League of Nations in a special act or charter." The original "Zionist proposals" anticipated the Wilsonian arrangement, and their draft became opportune when at General Smuts' in-

stigation the Peace Council created the three categories of mandated areas, with Palestine in category A, limiting the mandatory authority to rendering administrative advice and assistance until such time as its people could stand alone.

The debate on the mandates was checked by the conflicting demands of the Mediterranean powers, and the attempt of the British colonials to exercise the power of annexation over the conquered German colonies in Africa and the Pacific. The principle of recognizing "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire" as qualified for class "A" Mandates was accepted by the Peace Conference prior to the hearing accorded the Zionist leaders. The grant of the mandates over Turkish territory was deferred until the signing of the treaty with Turkey and the actual terms of the Mandate for Palestine were seriously affected by the long American negotiations consequent upon the non-ratification of the Treaty of Versailles by the United States Senate. Finally an entirely different document was affirmed by the Council of the League of Nations in July 1922.

The Zionist Conference in London in February 1919 proved an abortive affair because the Zionists coming from the war-stricken areas, represented only isolated groups and were not prepared to deal with the problems that confronted them. The burden of financing the movement was therefore assumed by the Americans who sent two representatives to Palestine on relief work, manned the Zionist Commission in Palestine with Americans, Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore and Robert Szold, urged the visit of forty European Zionists to America to afford them an insight into American methods of administration,

and invited the geologist, F. Julius Fohs, to proceed to Palestine to investigate the natural resources of the country.

The American Zionist delegation in Paris had been in the meantime considerably strengthened by the presence of the American Jewish Congress delegation to the Peace Conference. In order however to avoid complications, such as the playing off by the French Foreign Office of Jewish interests in Palestine against Jewish claims to minority rights in Poland, the duties of the delegations were sharply divided, and the official Zionist group kept aloof from the European problems.

While the Europeans struggled to give expression to the inalienable rights of the Jews to Palestine, those acting for Brandeis were concerned over a wide frontier, free immigration, equitable land laws, and a fiscal policy that should prevent the inflation of values. Given these the Zionists could, in his judgment, tackle the job and at the same time demonstrate to the Arabs that they were acting in good faith and friendship. Neither anti-Zionist demonstrations organized in Paris by a few American Jews nor the King-Crane Commission to discover the self-determination of the peoples of Palestine and Syria disturbed the American confidence in the practicability of Zionist policies.

III

As soon as the Supreme Court rose in 1919 for the summer vacation Brandeis proceeded to Europe en route for Palestine. In London for the first time he met Dr. Weizmann. Brandeis, who was accompanied by the author, and had characteristically been studying reports whilst

crossing the Atlantic, after the first cordial greeting, swept aside all ceremonial functions and plunged into the details of the situation as it then existed, and after conferring in London with the British officials who were specifically interested in Palestinian problems, announced himself as ready to proceed to Palestine. He arrived in London on a Saturday, and left on the following Monday morning for Paris. Weizmann was impressed by Brandeis. He agreed with Dr. Levin that there was "something Messianic" in the countenance and bearing of the American leader. Brandeis for his part freely admired Weizmann. In Paris Brandeis met a wider circle of Zionist leaders to whom he told his own high hopes and confidence in the future, using of a set purpose the phraseology of Herzl.

The peace as it applied to the Western Front was being signed the evening Brandeis reached Paris, but he ignored the hilarity of the streets and the public festivities of the day after. He employed the hours he was in Paris calling on the President, Col. House, Mr. Balfour, the French cabinet, the Italian Ambassador, meeting officials of every description, and lunched with Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The third evening after he landed at Southampton he was with Alfred Zimmern and the author, on the Marseilles train en route for the East.

Brandeis had set out to make a leisured inspection of Palestine but his brief conferences in Paris led him to decide that it was advisable to change his Palestinian tour into a political visit. The adoption of the Mandate had been definitely shelved until after the adoption of the Turkish Treaty, but Brandeis was far more occupied with the actual conditions of future Jewish settlement than with

the phraseology of any document. He knew the geography and topography of Palestine from years of reading. He and his travel companions had a small compact library,[1] besides a satchel of reports.

The idyllic contemplative days, spent in discussion and reading whilst the "Malwa" steamed through the Mediterranean, gave way on landing at Port Said to forced marching that ignored Egyptian heat in all things except the wearing of a cork helmet. Palestine was still Enemy Occupied Territory and Port Said was the official gateway to Palestine. Jews detained in Port Said and Alexandria were Brandeis' first experience of the reality of the resistance the military occupation was offering to the migration of Jews to the Homeland. His arrival in Cairo was heralded by the Zionists there and by the visits of all the representative Zionists, the British military officials and the American diplomatic group. The forward passage to Palestine was however barred by the request that Brandeis should not proceed until he had met General Allenby, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, who at the moment was on a tour of inspection in the Sinai Peninsula. Brandeis accordingly moved to Alexandria to await the British Military Chief.

The luxury and fascination of Egypt impressed him as explaining "why the Jews had to leave it." As he examined some ancient strawless bricks Brandeis suggested that probably such labor saved the Jews from complete demoralization. He understood why Moses led his people through a desert into stony fastnesses. Such experi-

[1] It included a Hebrew Phrase Book, Bible, Baedeker of Palestine and George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* Ellsworth Huntington's *Palestine and its Transformation,* and *The Holy Land,* by John Kelman.

ence was necessary to restore the vigor on which effective idealism could be developed. But more immediate problems preoccupied him. Col. Lawrence called to explain his Arab policy. The leading Egyptian Jews offered their explanation of the Egyptian National struggle then creating serious disturbances. But all these were incidentals. He was preoccupied with Palestine and the possibility of inducing the Egyptian Jews to take a large part in its rapid development. From his interview with Lord Allenby, the conversations of Lord Dalmeny, and the reports of Major Waley whom the British attached to him as a liaison officer Brandeis understood the peculiar cross-purposes of the British Palestinian policy as reported by his associates at Southampton, by the British officials in London and by the American peace delegates in Paris. The ascendancy of the military party in British Near Eastern policies was a fact and one that needed to be handled firmly and it was in that spirit that Brandeis left Egypt, and crossed the Sinai Peninsula. It was symbolic of his attitude that he left the train for a moment at El-Arish to greet two American legionaires who were doing sentry duty beside an encampment pitched near the desert station.

Palestine made a deep and lasting impression on the American leader. He became a lover of its historic soil, but in spite of all the receptions tendered him he never uttered a word in public while in the country. On his arrival in Ludd he repaired under an escort of daredevil riding Jewish colonists to British Military Headquarters at Beer Salim. Again three weeks later when he spent a night sleeping on the sands at Ludd, he was surrounded by a group of self-appointed guardians. This was the tribute

of men who had faith in the silent active figure, who had met many and listened to all. Sephard and Askenaz, Chassid and Chaluka recipient, rabbi and radical, Yemenite and Bokharan, new and old colonist, in cities and villages, all registered their hopes and desires. Trans-Jordan Circassians and Arab Sheiks came to do homage to the American leader. He paid stated and surprise visits. Brandeis moved faster and more continuously than his diarist could record.

"He saw the land and it was good." Its limited area pleased his concept of man's capacity to tackle and complete a job. The rebuilding of Palestine was a task within the compass of men well prepared and properly aided. This possibility thrilled him, but in public he thrust aside all emotion. The barrenness of the land in summer suggested opportunity for the display of the Jewish capacity to create something out of nothing and in private he discussed the restoration of the great irrigation system which existed in Roman times and of which traces are still extant. The cactus covered Temple Area which he explored by moonlight moved him deeply. But it was when standing beside Rachel's Tomb on the Bethlehem Road, gazing at the afterglow of the setting sun, which threw a mantle of burnished copper over the hills of Moab, that he voiced his longings for Zion: "I know now why all the world wanted this land and why all peoples loved it."

But a practical question, suggested by the bloated appearance of hundreds of little children distressed him. The land was filled with malaria, and he knew malaria and its evil influence from his Kentuckian boyhood, when the bowl of quinine pills was always on the table. To put an

end to malaria was therefore the first task he would assign to the American Zionists. The multiple headed Zionist Commission with offices both in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv was too large and therefore inefficient. In part he remedied this while still in the country by forcing the transfer of all Zionist officers from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

But the heart of the Homeland situation was political. He had gathered that information in the interview with Lord Allenby in Alexandria. The British Commander-in-Chief and his military and civil aides regarded the Balfour Declaration as a forgotten episode of the war. They had other plans for the future of Palestine and all other Occupied Area Enemy Territory eastward and northward.

In both England and France the military and civil authorities were seriously divided as to the desirable policy in the Near East. The French government was still keen for the Syrian Mandate. General Foch opposed, saying, "I cannot hold Syria by my eye lashes." Nevertheless French diplomacy prevailed. The English civil government as we know was pledged to the Balfour Declaration and was moreover bound by the Sykes-Picot Treaty. The British military party supported Lawrence's adventure in Arabia which opposed both the French and the Jewish claims. British arms with French and Italian military representatives had captured Palestine and taken possession of Syria. The British military view was strictly that to the victor belongs the spoils. They included Beirut as a means of defense of the whole coastal plain, and they wanted Damascus in British hands as the gateway to the desert and the route to Bagdad.

There was sufficient local tension in the summer of

1919 to cause the raising of the French flag on French Independence Day, by the local French consul in Sidon, to be regarded as a declaration of French occupation of the town. The civilian aides to the British Military authorities, in these circumstances took advantage of every local economic opportunity to strengthen the British foothold, ignoring all Jewish considerations, and treating the Arabs as "natives" in the approved colonial manner. The Jews ignorant of this divided policy brought eloquent testimony to the fact that Palestine was already slipping away from the vision of a Jewish Homeland they had conjured out of the text of the Balfour Declaration. A trade circular, issued by an official British agent, confirmed in black and white, the verbal Jewish fears.

Brandeis expressed some definite opinions on the matter to General Money at his Headquarters on the Mount of Olives. But it was not until he returned to Paris that Brandeis who still advocated a contract between the Mandatory and the Zionist Organization as a working basis for settlement unbosomed himself. And it was to Mr. Balfour that he spoke. A few hours later the British Foreign Office through the British War Office, was reminding the military authorities in Egypt and Palestine not only of the verbal contents of the Balfour Declaration but that the matter was "*chose jugée.*" A number of Palestinian officials immediately sought desirable "exchanges," and Colonel Meinertzhagen a pronounced pro-Zionist was despatched to Palestine. There had been no protest meetings, no stirring of the troubled public waters. The Brandeisian direct action diplomacy had achieved results. The result was so clear to the Palestinians that the silent but efficient Brandeis is still a golden memory.

IV

Elated that his visit to Palestine had produced such excellent results he proceeded to London where a meeting of the Greater *Actions Comité* had been called for the discussion of many financial matters, and particularly for the consideration of the latest version of the mandate. He immediately advocated the abolition of the Zionist Commission in Palestine and its replacement by the concentration of all Zionist offices there. This demand and this criticism of much that he had seen in Palestine was disturbing to Dr. Weizmann and his associates. They were not prepared for the definite and categorical methods suggested by the American leader. They propounded many plans for fund raising of which he disapproved and he insisted upon an assumption of responsibility by the Zionist Organization for the development of Palestine which seriously distressed the Europeans who were leaning on England for practical support, and whose belief in the "American idea" had weakened during the endless negotiations over the terms of the mandate.

The first clash came during a discussion over the land policy, as outlined in the mandate. Brandeis insisted on the application of the principle of the Pittsburgh Program as basically fair to the Jews and to the Arab holders. He won his point. But he parted company with Dr. Weizmann on the clause that involved the creation of the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Weizmann was willing to compromise the authority of the Zionist Organization in the upbuilding of Palestine by including non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency as it was then formulated. He was willing to include among the

Zionist forces, the National Jewish Councils hastily formed in Poland and Eastern Europe towards the end of the war, besides seeking the support of the avowedly non-Zionist philanthropic agencies.

Brandeis urged that the supporters of these National Councils, which were political organizations aiming to sustain the claims of Jews to minority rights, should become "shekel payers" and thus join the Zionist Organization. He rejected Weizmann's plan because he did not regard these National Councils as permanent contributions to organized Jewish life. Furthermore while Brandeis agreed that anyone could contribute to the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland, he held that the responsibility for the actual operations could only be assumed by those who believed in the principles involved, and therefore could be single-minded in their devotion to an onerous task. The majority of the Committee sided with Brandeis but Weizmann affected to regard the decision as "another Uganda" and severely upbraided those of his intimate associates who voted with the American group in the Committee.

The issue was largely academic but Weizmann made it intensely personal by insisting that only he and his friends were stirred by Jewish national consciousness whilst those opposed to his plans were lacking in historic understanding of Jewish life and wanting in the Jewish soul. That is why he forced from Brandeis an answer in "principle" as well as in "practice."

This controversy called out the full strength of Brandeis' non-compromising spirit. In cold measured tones he answered, "I am opposed to your plan both in principle and in practice." In that answer and the bitter spirit in

which it was met began not only a sharp difference between the two leaders, but there ended a vision of a Zionist leadership for which some in that room had been preparing for several years.

But even this wholly unanticipated clash with Dr. Weizmann did not deter Brandeis from his purpose. He had returned from Palestine moved to new flights of idealism and resolved to undertake new tasks. He was *en rapport* with the reverential Jewish attitude which only questions why its generation should be privileged to do so great and so noble a deed as the rebuilding of Zion. This feeling of gratitude at the opportunity to accomplish the worthwhile he communicated at a private session of the delegates at the Zionist convention held in Chicago to which he proceeded directly after his return to the United States.

The delegates were elated by Brandeis' first words and exalted by the spirit of his address. But they were dumbfounded when suddenly he turned from this high idealism and outlined a specific action, the stamping out of malaria in Palestine. Malaria had been regarded as so natural an incident to Palestinian life that few considered it as a serious evil. Palestinians joked about it even though its ravages had cost many lives. The delegates did not perceive that Brandeis was calculating the economic loss due to malaria, and that moreover he desired to make Palestine livable for western settlers used to normal health conditions. Therefore they did not respond to Brandeis' suggestion. Some of the leaders so far from understanding that Brandeis proposed to begin operations in Palestine, as Gorgas began his work in the Panama Canal, still explain Brandeis' subsequent withdrawal from Zionist activ-

ity as due to having been overwhelmed by the prevalence of malaria in Palestine.

Chicago was the first "bad" convention. The swing round of the American movement, then at its height, from a theoretic, propagandist effort to a constructive Palestine building organization was retarded by the organization "politics" and personal rivalries which were manifested. The rank and file and the subordinate officers of the American Zionist army had not yet been sufficiently schooled in the new outlook and in the new methods of approach to Zionist tasks. The convention did however listen attentively in executive sessions to the constructive "message" brought by Brandeis from Palestine. His program based on the conclusion "that the period of practical preparatory work in Palestine has begun," and that "Palestine can eventually contain a very large population" was—

a) A campaign against malaria, to be waged vigorously in advance of any extensive immigration.
b) The purchase of lands on an extensive scale.
c) Afforestation.
d) Strong financial support for the Hebrew University.
e) Considerable investigation and preparatory study of the land to facilitate agricultural, industrial and commercial development.

This program he concluded "will require vast sums of money which only the masses, including labor and capital, are rich enough and strong enough to raise. Therefore all present differences of opinion within the movement and

concerning the movement must be forgotten and all the Jews of the world must participate in this great work. The development of a Jewish Palestine in its entirety can be carried out and at the same time the condition and welfare of the other peoples in Palestine be greatly improved."

The convention re-affirmed its faith in the Pittsburgh Program and urged the World Zionist Organization to "create the proper instrumentalities for the study of the possibilities of mass colonization in Palestine."

It further supported this view by a series of resolutions dealing with the economic problems and the permanent abolition of the Chaluka or charity system. In fine the Brandeisian view was the controlling influence at the twenty-second annual Zionist convention. But as the Zionists did not in practice immediately respond to this code Brandeis made the stamping out of malaria a personal objective. It is thanks to his support of the scientists who did the work, that this scourge has disappeared throughout the largest part of Palestine.

CHAPTER VI

DISASTROUS LONDON CONFERENCE

I

Nineteen hundred and twenty was the year of chaos. The reestablishment of peace conditions was more provocative of confusion than the task of organizing humanity for the battle front. Palestine being involved in the settlement of the Near Eastern Mandates the Zionist adjustment was not begun until after the Conference at San Remo. In the meantime the popular opposition to the United States entering the League of Nations weakened American influence in Europe and in the reassertion of economic and political rivalries in Europe, many fine dreams such as the independence of Armenia and other Black Sea republics disappeared.

In Palestine Zionist affairs were being directed by Mr. Ussischkin, by nature instinctively opposed to all things British and who was possessed by a determined dislike of all effort not closely bound up in his theory of petty colonization and the Zionist viewpoint prevalent in the early nineties. Mr. Ussischkin was shrewdly countered by a master of diplomacy in Near Eastern British politics, Col. Storrs, in command in Jerusalem. With poverty dominant in Europe, confusion in the leadership in London and complaints from every American who hurriedly visited Palestine, Zionism slipped back several pegs by the spring of 1920.

Popular faith in the reality of the Balfour Declaration and in the decisions of the Peace Conference had con-

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
(*At the age of 64*)
Enroute for London in 1920.
(*From a group picture taken as he stepped aboard the S. S. "Lapland."*)

siderably diminished when the Zionist world was horrified by the news that riots had broken out. The Arabs had risen against the Jews in Jaffa and Jerusalem and in some of the agricultural settlements, and by all accounts the British military authorities had been negligent in their duty. The demand for protest meetings was insistent.

But behind the scene there existed even a greater difficulty. The map of Palestine was being drawn in accordance with the terms of the secret Sykes-Picot Treaty, and that traced the northern dividing line at Haifa, giving all Northern Galilee and the head waters of the Jordan to Syria. The British Cabinet preparing for the San Remo Conference at which the mandate was to be given to England was willing to yield to the French on the matter.

The World Zionist leadership cabled despairing appeals to New York for help. Under these circumstances the demands for protest meetings against the British administration had to be withstood. The Brandeis régime had to decide whether it would yield to popular clamor and irritate the British or whether it would risk popular disfavor in its effort to save the substance of a Homeland large enough to present economic possibilities. Action was complicated by the fact that President Wilson was gravely ill and could not be approached. Acting Secretary of State Polk too was ill. But the American leadership having promised aid, the aid was forthcoming.

One April morning the British Cabinet received from the stricken American President, a cabled letter so tensely worded as to the honor of Christendom being involved in providing the Jewish Homeland with adequate boundaries, that Premier Lloyd George described the message as "a bomb shell." The coast line of Palestine was moved north

to the Ladder of Tyre and inland to Merom, where subsequently Trumpeldorfer, the first sacrifice of the new political era, fell in guarding his frontier home.

The tension over riots and areas speedily gave way when, on April 26th at San Remo, Great Britain was granted the new type of authority the actual terms of which were formulated two years later. Lloyd George, the British Premier, however immediately appointed Sir Herbert Samuel first High Commissioner. This was a most significant act affording opportunity for lyric comparisons between the return under Ezra, which marked the end of the Babylonian captivity, and the return under Samuel, signifying the end of the Diaspora.

The American Zionists immediately convened a Thanksgiving session in New York and organized a parade in that city which evoked so remarkable an emotional display that it was regarded as significant of the depths to which Jewry had been moved. A few weeks later Brandeis accompanied by a large delegation again proceeded to London to attend a world Zionist conference.

II

During the war Brandeis had been unstinted in the financial and political support which he had given to the European leadership. His visit to Palestine and the events that occurred in the months that followed had made him critical both of the London and the Palestinian Zionist administrations. Despite the manifest differences that ended his meetings with Dr. Weizmann in 1919 the spirit in which he went to London the following summer, was one of full-hearted cooperation. On his fellow-delegates he

urged, and they enthusiastically agreed to, a policy of concentrating all Zionist effort upon Palestine.

Administratively the organization was still a European governed body with an important annex with undefined authority, operating in Palestine. Brandeis regarded the London Headquarters as an expensive and inefficient "transformer" of the Zionist power which could be directly made to serve only in Jerusalem. The creation of the Palestine Zionist Commission in 1918 had been a necessity; then the political work was the serious problem and the administrative problems in Palestine were limited to the task of maintaining the Jewish settlement as "a going concern." Brandeis proposed to retain the political agency in London and concentrate all available Zionist executive ability on the upbuilding operations in Palestine. It was his method of simplification and direct action. Moreover he did not believe that the World Organization could render efficient and useful aid to the various local federations. The federations dealing with local issues must and could solve their own problems. Their duty was to aid, not to ask support from the central authority. Incidentally he believed that by the adoption of this policy all Zionists would begin thinking in terms of Palestine, not of some European capital. This was the first advance toward that policy of states' rights within the Zionist Organization which subsequently led to much misunderstanding.

The American Zionist delegation prepared no elaborate program for the London Conference. The delegates knew that they would be called upon to raise large sums for the upbuilding of Palestine, and they anticipated that the London Executive, more familiar with the details of

the situation, would present plans to meet the circumstances.

The London Conference began badly. The meeting place was inadequate. There was no ordered program prepared and even the opening session was so badly staged that it provoked newspaper criticism. Those who convened what was intended to be an historic gathering lacked ability for organization and the sessions had to be postponed owing to the difficulties of European travel. The preliminary meetings of the *Actions Comité* at which Brandeis searchingly criticized the administration, and brought forward the American proposal for housing all administrative offices in Jerusalem, proved abortive because Dr. Weizmann and his associates were preoccupied with last-minute preparations for the public sessions.

There had been no general meeting of Zionists since the Vienna Congress of 1913 and there the direction had been in the hands of David Wolffsohn who died September 15, 1914. The Weizmann-Sokolow leadership, and practically the whole body of the American delegation was a war creation. Owing to Soviet rule the masses of Russian Zionists were unrepresented. In their place came a divided but intensely radical delegation from Palestine. Poland sent an overwhelmingly Mizrachi (religious orthodox) delegation. England having partly re-opened her doors to Germans, the German and Central European delegation came in some trepidation and was composed in part of men who had not been in close touch with German Zionism during the war period. Max Nordau, the Grand Old Man of Zionism but recently freed from exile in Spain, was a spent force incapable of gaining support for

the Herzlian policy of "mass immigration" which he earnestly favored. A noteworthy group of Russians were Parisian exiles who had ceased to represent any constituency. The political changes in the European map effected by the peace treaties broke old Zionist alignments, so that even the traditional congress combination of the center against the right and left wings of the movement was not maintained by the delegates.

The London Conference occurred too soon after the war. Its members in the main were still affected by war psychology, or were suffering from the nervous tension that prevailed during the peace negotiations. As to Palestine they had no clear vision of what the new political conditions demanded. Many brought with them the tag ends of the policies that were current in 1913, and as the records of the sessions amply demonstrate, they were far more eager to discuss the old European nationalist cultural program, than to devise practical plans for the future of Palestine.

There is excellent warrant for assuming that little more than the sentimental value of the Balfour Declaration, and of the mandate, had penetrated the European Zionist leaders. The term mandate was new, and not easily translated into the languages spoken in Eastern Europe where Jewish political intelligence was concentrated on working out the newly created, thrilling and promising minority rights. The ground for this "National Cultural Autonomism" had been prepared by the nationalist historian Dubnow who in 1905 began to advocate that the Jews "like all national minority groups in countries with a mixed population are in duty bound to fight in their several

lands at one and the same time not only for their civil equality, but also for their national rights—the autonomy of the Jewish community, school and language." [1]

Western Jews were not cognizant of the wide prevalence of this doctrinaire principle. They supported minority rights as a working political method that could and should apply in Eastern Europe as it had applied under like conditions in Canada and elsewhere. Hence they did not realize that many of the delegates came to the London conference with their minds intent on working out the Jewish problem in their own environment, with Palestine as an exciting but more distant prospect of settlement. The confusion of interests still exists and explains the cross-currents of oratory and action of a number of Zionist leaders.

In Germany and in Central Europe generally during the war, the Zionists had averted their faces from the East and had cultivated a type of mystic religious cultural nationalism which in its most extravagant form advocated the voluntary reinstitution of the ghetto. In these regions such influence as leaders of the Achad Ha'am [2] school exerted was directed toward belittling the political value of the Balfour Declaration, and there was not wanting wide-spread doubt as to the integrity of the British pro-Zionist policy in Palestine.

The conveners of the conference took the new era for granted. For the transition from ages of hope to initiating practical achievement no adequate preparation was made. The new status demanding Homeland building was not understood. At best there was some appreciation of

[1] Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,* Vol. III, p. 53.
[2] See his essay on the Balfour Declaration.

the possibility of doing on a large scale, what formerly, under deterrent political restrictive conditions, had been done in Palestine on a small scale. The typical European ratiocination was avoided and no attempt made to distinguish between the three prevailing nationalist ideas—political Zionism, cultural Zionism and national autonomy in European lands. Had a week been spent in expounding the theories and motivation of the new era as contemplated by Brandeis, the Conference would have had different results and the aspect of the Zionist effort would have differed considerably from what it is in 1929. For there were not wanting men who accepted and labored for the three mutually contradictory theories of the Jewish future.

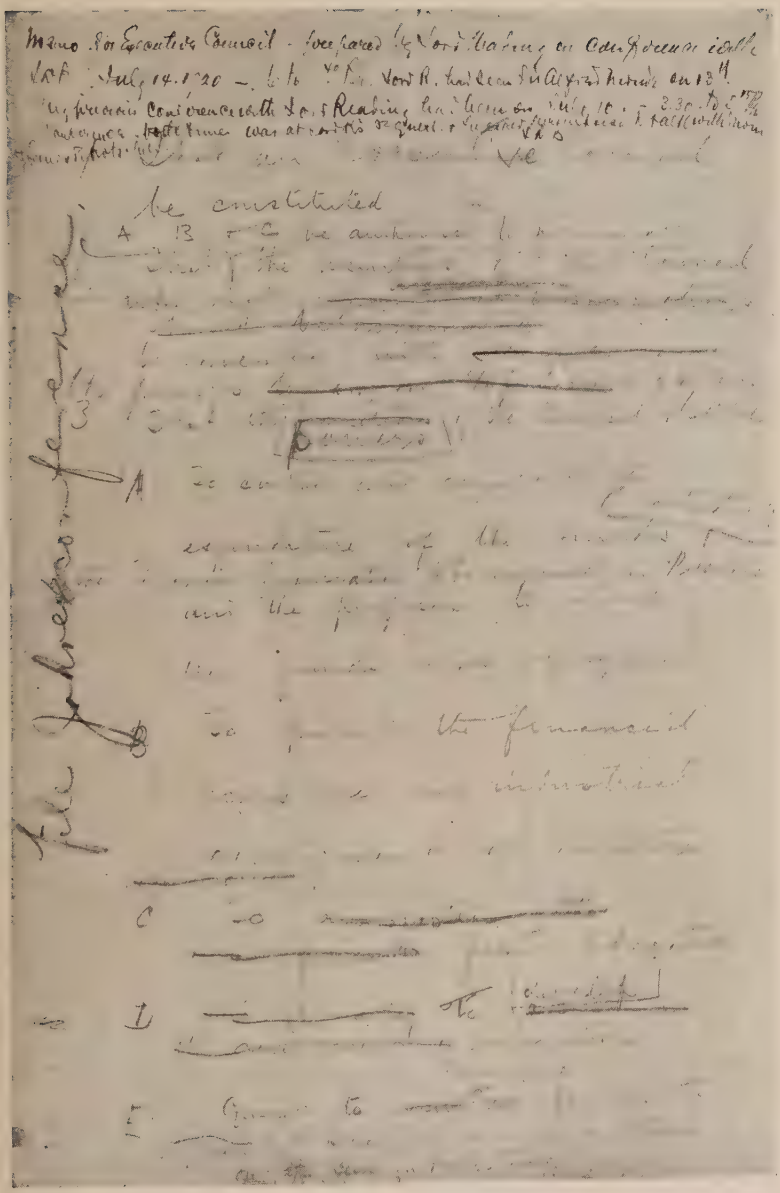
To make confusion worse confounded the war had encouraged the European leaders to speak in terms of millions where formerly they had been content to think in thousands of dollars. So with every project was submitted a budget calling for the expenditure of large sums. Only two centers, the United States and South Africa, could make any considerable contributions to the Zionist exchequer, but the appropriations were voted by the right and the left wings in combination, and these, being "fractions" (parties within the party), were by the support of the President absolved from any serious responsibility for contributing to the budgets which they blithely voted.

In its broad democracy the Zionist Organization has replaced the familiar "no taxation without representation," by the principle of "equal representation for fractions without financial responsibility." Indeed this strange anomaly which still persists goes even further in practice. All groups, center, right and left wings, share in framing,

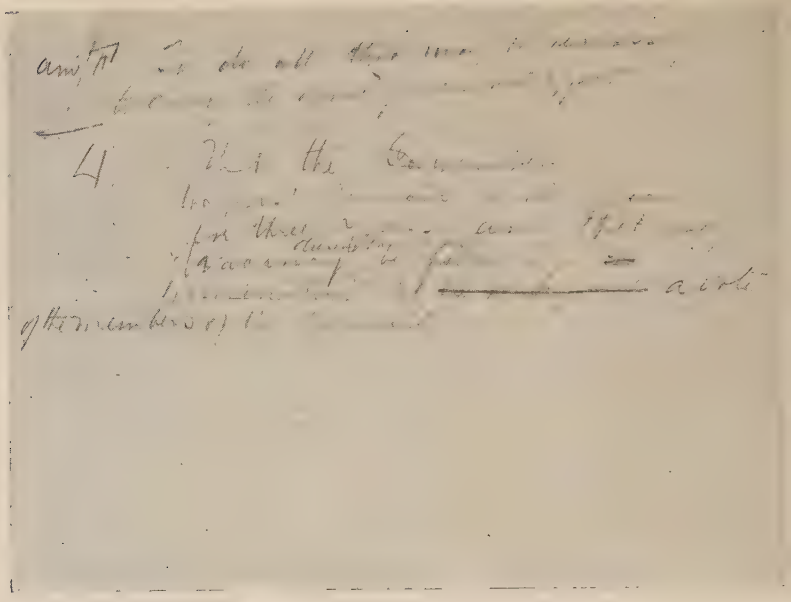
voting and expending the appropriations of the general Palestinian budget, and until 1927 were represented in the executive committee which disbursed the funds. The wings or fractions were not only relieved from anything like proportional contributions to the general budget, which they helped to devise, but they were also accorded the right to raise independent funds for Palestinian work as well as to finance their distinct party organization purposes. In practice this meant that the fractions not only controlled the general Zionist budget but were freely subsidized from it.

Though in their opening addresses at the Conference the European leaders stressed the seriousness of the coming years for the movement and promised to submit plans for afforestation, irrigation, sanitation and land purchase, no discussion of such plans forms any part of the record of the 1920 sessions. The procedure was managed by a steering committee, called the Senioren Convent, but that body was too large and purposeless for constructive action. Dr. Weizmann's opening address was largely an appeal to the Jewish Colonization Association to step in and cooperate in the work ahead. Owing to numerous adjournments the Conference dragged from the 7th to the 22nd of July, and then only ended when a false report was dramatically recited that Russia was about to declare war on Poland, and therefore the Polish delegates must depart immediately for their homes.

"Our work today is very different from what our work has been up till now. The Zionist machine as it exists was created for propaganda, for the purpose of organizing the Jewish people and developing its consciousness. But the practical work of building up a Jewish Palestine re-



Facsimile of the memorandum in Lord Reading's handwriting with annotation by Justice Brandeis. This was the basis of the plan presented to the London Zionist Conference, July 14, 1920.



quires a different kind of machine than that which is called for by propaganda." So said Dr. Weizmann in his opening address but within a few hours after this brave utterance he and a few of his intimate associates came to Brandeis and despairingly confessed that they were bankrupt in men, methods and means.

At his invitation Brandeis had already met Lord Reading and discussed the general phases of the Palestinian problem. Faced by this urgent plea for aid—Brandeis outlined his own views, and undertook to lighten Dr. Weizmann's burdens by soliciting the support through Lord Reading of a group of English Jews who if so minded could assume the responsibility and obtain the necessary aid for the economic upbuilding of Palestine. Dr. Weizmann gladly assented to the Brandeis project. He expressed his gratitude by impulsively kissing Brandeis' hand.

The progress of this negotiation is fully told in the address Brandeis subsequently delivered to the American delegation and which in substance he repeated to the Conference.[1] The proposition drafted by Lord Reading [2] was simple enough. The Zionist Organization which Dr. Weizmann had pointed out in his opening address had been created for propaganda purposes, should so continue to function and through the Congress exercise control over the nationalist policies involved in the upbuilding of Palestine. Lord Reading with Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. James de Rothschild, both Zionists, though not affiliated with the organization, were to organize the British group who for three years were to be given responsibility and

[1] See Page 241.
[2] See Facsimile.

control over the economic development of Palestine. As both Dr. Weizmann and Brandeis were to be associated in the task of selecting and accepting the new committee, of which Mr. Bernard Flexner was to be a member, there was at the outset no serious reason to fear anti-Zionist influence. The negotiations though conducted rapidly were substantial enough to warrant their presentation by Brandeis, first to his American colleagues and then to the Conference. Every step was taken in consultation with Dr. Weizmann and his associates.

There was nothing in the plan that did violence to Zionist theory; it may have been translated as a response to the appeal Dr. Weizmann made to the Jewish Colonization Association in his opening address. The three-year term was merely an extension by one year of the normal life of committees organized by each Zionist Congress. There was ample precedent for the proposed transfer of responsibility. All the financial instruments of the Zionist movement, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Anglo-Palestine Company, even the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Land Development Company were granted direct responsibility, the organization control being exercised when these bodies reported to the Congress, or through founders' shares in the corporations. Brandeis' method of approach to the economic task may have easily been defended from the practice Herzl had from time to time pursued. But the immediate response was unfavorable.

The American delegates did not like the project and a committee waited on Brandeis and urged him to resign from the Supreme Court in order to direct his economic program. The spokesmen of the American delegation were Israel B. Brodie, Louis Lipsky, Morris Rothenberg and

Abraham Tulin. They did not and could not tender him the world leadership of the movement. The office was not within their gift. There was no evidence that the European leaders were willing to subordinate themselves to the American leader, and they in no way supported the action of the American delegation which was on every count the victim of the antipathy to all things American then prevailing in Europe. Brandeis declined to resign his judicial office and the American delegates grudgingly promised support of the plan.

The abruptness of the presentation and the hostile atmosphere undoubtedly had much to do with the disfavor quickly manifested. What the delegates grasped was that they were yielding some of their responsibility and authority; how much no one knew as only outlines of the plan were presented to the Conference. The Senioren Convent however, undertook to discuss the project in private session.

At that session while Mr. Sokolow, who also had been a party in the development of the idea, manfully supported Brandeis, Dr. Weizmann amazed his auditors by emphasizing all the defects apparent to those moved by organization patriotism. When the Senioren Convent adjourned that day the fate of the plan was much in doubt, for the ramifications and possibilities of the project were just beginning to appeal. Thereupon without notice to Brandeis, who as is his habit, had retired at an early hour, Dr. Weizmann killed the plan by a simple act. The same evening he called Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. de Rothschild into conference with a few of his associates, and submitted to them organization problems which were in no way comprehended in the Reading-Brandeis draft.

Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. de Rothschild naturally withdrew from the whole project. They had abstained from active affiliation with the Zionist Organization because they had no liking for involved organization politics and they did not propose to be led into its mazes via the new economic body. The impossibility of obtaining their support was spread among the delegates even before Brandeis appeared on the scene the next morning. So the Reading-Brandeis plan died, with an open breach between Dr. Weizmann and Brandeis. The latter, at the request of a delegation of the Senioren Convent, formally placed on record the story of his betrayal by Dr. Weizmann.

Brandeis' confidence in Dr. Weizmann was gone and he forthwith decided to dissociate himself from the World Organization. The conference was in tumult. Dr. Weizmann, politically resourceful, seized upon the occasion to make personal overtures to those among the American delegation who for years had been restive under the Brandeis leadership or who felt that culturally, they were nearer to the East European than to the American viewpoint.

As neither Brandeis nor his loyal supporters would consent to play politics the Brandeis régime in Zionism seemed at an end. However the name Brandeis had been one to conjure with in European Jewries especially towards the close of the Great War. Particularly was this the case in Roumania where Brandeis' portrait was reverently displayed in thousands of Jewish homes. Finally at the urgent plea of the Roumanian delegation, who claimed that Brandeis' name and power had during the war prevented an imminent massacre, Brandeis consented

to allow his name to stand as Honorary President of the World Zionist Organization, but he stipulated that in order that he be freed from all responsibilities, no American be made a member of the executive of the World Organization. This too created bitterness in the American delegation now openly divided in its allegiance.

When the excitement subsided—the London Executive brought forward its own plan for the Palestine Foundation Fund, an extravagant plan for money raising based on the hope that each supporter of Palestine would for a term of years donate one tenth of his income to the cause. All Zionist resources were to be piled into the fund which would operate everything from schools to power plants. This plan together with a large budget for nationalist work in the Diaspora, was not an acceptable program to the Americans and they refused to make positive pledges for the program which was however easily carried with the aid of the right and left wings of the Conference. The Americans had come to London critical of the World Organization and its methods. The Conference ended in vituperative criticism of the Americans.

On the morrow after the final adjournment the American delegation met and Dr. Weizmann was invited to be present. He then made a new offer on the Palestine land development problem. He undertook to secure the six hundred thousand dunams comprising the triangle of the Negeb, the dry southland of Palestine, provided the American Zionist Organization would finance the purchase. Brandeis responded eagerly. He pledged the Americans to cover the purchase, the more land the better, and immediately directed the drawing of a plan for covering

the cost of the area by popular subscription. It was under the impression that this land development would be the next item on the American Zionist program that the American delegation dispersed.

The end however was not yet. His sharp differences with Weizmann had not cooled Brandeis' ardor for action. Important projects, a loan for Palestine mooted by Sir Herbert Samuel, purchases of British war material in Palestine, and American war material in the United States useful for settlement purposes, the fate of the American Jewish legionaires who preferred to settle in Palestine to being disbanded and sent home, and the Rutenberg electrification plan, were worth considering. Brandeis therefore remained in London to attend to these practical problems. He was at the same time determined to put an end to extravagance in administration and to create a deeper sense of responsibility in all financial operations. The personal breach did not prevent his standing loyally by the organization. Twice during his stay in London he authorized the American Zionist treasury to advance funds to London to meet pressing needs.

In all $80,000 was advanced on shekel (organization) account for presumed liabilities outside of the budget provided by the American Organization for Palestinian purposes. Brandeis was naturally pained to learn some days later that part of this additional fund was used to pay the expenses of European delegates to the conference. The reduction he effected in the Executive staff was met by transferring all the discharged employees to the hastily opened Palestine Foundation Fund office. The break with Dr. Weizmann thus rapidly became a breach with the whole group controlling in London and in Palestine.

III

Far from dismayed, though distressed by his experiences, Brandeis on his homeward journey on the "Zeeland" drew up a clear plan for the orderly conduct of Palestinian affairs which became known as the "Zeeland Memorandum." [1] The unity of the American organization was however broken, and a group was speedily organized in America to put an end to the Brandeis régime. At the Buffalo Convention the following October Brandeis' supporters, anxious to keep apart gifts for public welfare work and capital provided for investments, managed to prevent the adoption of the "commingling funds" features of the Foundation Fund, but in other matters they were worsted.

In the meantime a new financial crisis had occurred in Palestine, and to straighten out matters it was agreed to send a reorganization commission to Palestine, with an American as one of the three members. Before, however, that commission had landed in Palestine Dr. Weizmann had privately engaged to ignore the future report of the commission. So new fuel was added to the fire. Another incident that created much bitterness was the purchase of a considerable tract of land in the Emek (Valley of Jesreel) by the Jewish National Fund. The Americans earnestly objected to the high price of the land and in addition they opposed making so large a purchase on long-term credits. The Americans were overruled but events have more than justified their objections. Nothwithstanding these disruptive incidents the Brandeis group selecting one item out of the Brandeis program set out to formulate their corporation plan for enlisting practical aid in Amer-

[1] See Page 260.

ica for the upbuilding of Palestine, and in less than sixty days it seemed as though they had found a workable solution of the problem of enlisting support for their comprehensive economic industrial program.

But the militant Zionist force stirred by old shibboleths was everywhere being roused to oppose Brandeisism. The criticism of the Palestine Zionist Administration, the opposition to grants from Zionist funds for cultural efforts in Europe, the objection to the authority and participation of the non-contributing "fractions," and the bitter feeling that American Zionism was the "rich uncle" of the movement and might through the power of the purse exercise control, united divergent forces that agreed to aid Dr. Weizmann in his campaign against Brandeis.

Dr. Weizmann was particularly helped in this by Dr. Schmarya Levin who having spent the whole period of the war in America, returned to Europe in January 1919 so impressed with the American leader's idealistic and practical qualities that he undertook to promote the tender of world leadership to Brandeis by all European Zionist forces. The Brandeisian economies and concentration plan of the next year had resulted in Dr. Levin being dropped from the world executive in 1920 and smarting under this personal slight he proceeded early in 1921 to align the disgruntled American forces for a fight against their leader. The struggle over the National Fund land purchase added its proponent M. M. Ussischkin and the limitation of the school budget added Dr. Benzion Mossinsohn, head of the Herzlia High School in Tel Aviv, to the forces determined to unhorse Brandeis and his associates.

Assured of American support the London Executive ordered the American Organization to act upon those de-

cisions of the London Conference which created the Palestine Foundation Fund. As the new instructions involved the whole Zionist program the Brandeis administration for the first time drew up a memorandum on what it considered to be the correct theory of organization and purpose, and added its program of proposed practice in fund raising and Palestinian development. Almost simultaneously Dr. Weizmann and his associates, empowered by themselves to act as a Commission, came to the United States to organize an independent Palestine Foundation Fund. In April 1921 Dr. Weizmann made good the threat he had uttered in London the previous summer that he would "colonize" America in the interest of his leadership.

Dr. Weizmann and his fellow-commissioners readily won the support of the Jewish masses. They claimed that the Brandeis program aimed at dissolving the unity of the Zionist Organization and sought to usurp the prerogatives of the World Executive through the power of the purse. Moreover they raised for the third time in Zionist history the sinister charge, "that the western Jew lacks understanding of the Jewish soul." Achad Ha'am's followers used this means of attack in 1881 against Pinsker, the first protagonist of a political Zionist concept. His opponents used it against Herzl in 1901. Now it was employed against Brandeis and his colleagues. The idea was reduced to the slogan "Pinsk versus Washington" and it is not without humor that men who never acquired a working knowledge of Yiddish and who are as remote from Pinsk, Vilna or Kovno as anyone born in the United States, became part of this praetorian guard that battled in New York for the ideology of Lithuania.

That the basic differences related to a personal breach

of faith, financial irregularities, consideration of mutual responsibilities and views as to the proper administration of institutions; that on the one side was an articulated program for action, and on the other nothing but a new version of Aladdin's magic lamp, mattered not at all. In the eighteenth century the mob clamored against a British cabinet that authorized the change from the Julian to the modern calendar. The outcry "Who stole the eleven days?" was as intelligent as the slogan "Pinsk versus Washington." Men fought for and against Brandeis. Precluded by his judicial position from controversial activity he was merely an observer, confident that time would prove his program right.

Unquestionably Brandeis sees life in terms diametrically different from those acceptable to Dr. Weizmann. But as the latter has a thoroughly malleable mentality, and the rhetorician's temporary faith in his own ephemeral utterances, there were many who believed common ground could be found and the catastrophic break impending in April 1921 avoided. Judge Julian W. Mack, President of the Zionist Organization of America, and the public exponent of the Brandeisian policies, undertook with some of his associates to discover the road to a working agreement. He conferred endlessly with Dr. Weizmann and his associates and an army of would-be peacemakers sought methods of avoiding what they foresaw would be a serious injury to the Zionist cause. One by one the points of difference were sidetracked for the benefit of the paramount cause, until the possibility of agreement and the resumption of united action depended upon the acceptance by both sides of a formula by which

the Brandeis group sought to "safeguard" the budget appropriations for Palestine.

Neither usurpation of authority nor financial control was involved in the terms. The language of the proposed agreement was actually borrowed from the regulations drawn by the author for the guidance of the Director of the American Zionist Medical Unit in 1920. All that the compact stipulated was that no commitment for one department of the Palestine budget could be employed for any other and that no funds could be borrowed from one account for some newly conceived emergency or unanticipated purpose. Stripped to essentials, it is the application of the legal principle that guides United States government appropriations.

The objections to this regulation were psychological. The European leaders believed they knew how to plan; the Palestinians allotted to themselves the ability to spend and both agreed that the Americans should be content with giving. Agreement moreover would put an end to the fight for Russo-Jewish supremacy in Zionism, a phase of that rivalry between Russian and Germanic Jews which has been waged in many forms during the last fifty years.

However one Saturday evening Dr. Weizmann announced that he would sign an agreement containing these "safeguarding" clauses, and he was permitted to name the committee for both sides to prepare for signature the final draft of what had been textually approved by both parties. The Brandeis group met on Sunday morning for this purpose, but instead of a document for signature there came a telephone message announcing that Dr. Weizmann had decided to break. A few hours later Weiz-

mann issued a proclamation calling on the Jews of America to support the Palestine Foundation Fund as a branch of the World Zionist Organization, but organized independently of the Zionist Organization of America. According to one of those present at the meeting which decided upon the break, Dr. Weizmann was browbeaten into this course by his three European associates, and an equal number of his American supporters. In turn they dramatically threatened his leadership in Europe, Palestine and America. The personal equation controlled his decision.

Thereafter Brandeis and his associates ceased to function in Zionism. The agitation against them was kept at fever heat and at the convention held in June 1921, at Cleveland, the majority of the delegates formally denied a vote of confidence to Brandeis and his régime. Dr. Weizmann and his associates were present at the session, but neither they nor their supporters were prepared for the immediate consequence of their action. The vote being recorded, Judge Mack read the following letter from Brandeis to the hushed assembly:

> "With the principles and policies adopted by the National Executive Committee under your leadership I am in complete agreement. Strict adherence to those principles is demanded by the high Zionist ideals. Steadfast pursuit of those policies is essential to early and worthy development of Palestine as the Jewish Homeland. We who believe in those principles and policies cannot properly take part in any administration of Zionist affairs which repudiates them. Upon the delegates in convention assembled rests the responsibility of deciding whether those principles

and policies shall prevail in the immediate future. If their decision is adverse, you will, I assume, resign, and in that event present also my resignation as Honorary President. Our place will then be as humble soldiers in the ranks where we may hope to hasten by our struggle the coming of the day when the policies in which we believe will be recognized as the only ones through which our great ends may be achieved."

Then without further parley Judge Mack reported the resignation, name by name, of thirty-seven members [1] of the Executive Committee and loyal officials. Amid tense silence Judge Mack and some three score delegates and members of the Executive then withdrew from the convention, and from all active participation in the affairs of the Zionist Organization.

[1] Maurice L. Avner, Oscar Berman, Israel B. Brodie, Benjamin V. Cohen, Jacob de Haas, Mrs. Mary Fels, Max J. Finkelstein, Bernard Flexner, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Nathan E. Goldstein, Dr. George Gordon, Max L. Grant, Rev. Dr. Max Heller, Rabbi J. D. Jurman, Horace M. Kallen, Nathan D. Kaplan, Henry H. Levenson, I. Irving Lipsitch, Judge Julian W. Mack, Emanuel N. Mohl, Judge Hugo Pam, Louis S. Posner, S. Rittenberg, Sol Rosenbloom, Jonas Rosenfeld, Jerome J. Rothschild, I. Rude, Rabbi Samuel Sale, William Sauber, S. Shapinsky, Rabbi A. H. Silver, D. W. Simons, Hon. Nathan Straus, Robert Szold, Samuel H. Waldstein, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

CHAPTER VII

SOLDIER IN THE CAUSE

I

The Brandeis régime which had made Jewish nationalism "the order of the day in Jewish life," had closed its record. As was remarked at the time, it held office longer than any war administration anywhere. But Brandeis' interest in Zion, and in the upbuilding of Palestine had not lessened, nor had his affection for the cause abated. So on the morrow after he ceased holding office in the Zionist Organization, of which he is still a member, Brandeis called his immediate associates together and planned to pursue some of his ideas along simpler lines. He offered no rivalry to the Zionist Organization, and urged all who would join him to remain members of the organization but assume no office therein, so that they could not be charged with either lack of diligence or obstructive tactics. The Zionist Organization of America however offered serious opposition to the new movement and in December 1922 solemnly ordered all its members to abstain from joining the Palestine Development Leagues.

Standing thus on the outside the group organized the Palestine Development Leagues, as a means of contact for individuals; the Palestine Cooperative Company for investing in cooperative effort in Palestine; the Palestine Development Council, a body for coordinating the relations of the two bodies already mentioned, and the Pales-

tine Endowment Fund for handling bequests and trust funds to be used in Palestine. The last still functions. The former were dissolved or merged into the Palestine Economic Corporation founded by a new grouping of those interested in Palestine in 1925.

In these efforts Brandeis encouraged men to do the task in hand to the utmost of their ability. In all of them he ran counter to the public preference for organization politics over keen deliberate interest in the details of the unfolding of opportunity in Palestine. Between the first sober address to the newly formed Provisional Committee in 1914, and the last address he delivered to the Palestine Development Council in September 1923, there will be found not only the deepening of faith and a more spontaneous note, but the same conscious sense of guardianship exercised through care and attention and understanding of the instrument employed to effect the end in view.

II

Each Zionist congress since August 1921 has heard proposed economies and economic measures described as "Brandeisism without Brandeis." The Palestine Foundation Fund has been shorn both of its ambitious methods of fund raising and of many of its complex Palestinian purposes. None of its anticipations, great resources and great undertakings have been realized. The membership of the movement has declined and not risen. The congresses are less attended and more party riven than formerly. Brandeis' apprehension as to the consequences that would follow the loose handling of appropriations has been verified to the letter. Emigration from Palestine has be-

come more noticeable than immigration. One item of the Brandeis program—a united executive resident in Palestine—was adopted by the Congress in 1927 and a number of the institutions now have their headquarters in Palestine.

But these are mere scratches on the surface. In the main Brandeis in Zionism as elsewhere is the great dissenter. Thousands of men and women would willingly fight under the shadow of his name, but not for those definitive policies which he advocates. Scores go to him for advice and return vowing they have been refreshed by a "spiritual bath"; dozens return from a visit to Washington acclaiming the inspiration and enthusiasm which has been poured into them, but few govern their daily actions by their own brave words.

Yet his is the spirit that instead of denying affirms, but affirms the little things as well as the big things; that has pity for weakness but is without faith in tergiversation; that smiles away compromise and eloquently upholds his moral code. Hardest of all things Brandeis unrolls the tale of the years, the rights and the wrongs, as well as the middle course, in discussing not only the broad future, but any specific program he is asked to consider. In a world where most events are not even "nine days' wonders" his trained mind rehearses, not in shadowy language, but always in precise terse words the experience he has gained of men or things. Frequently he illustrates his point with a brief pointed story. His exactness and finality bring worship, not followers. For men and women mostly fear to put themselves to the test which the Brandeisian code in Zionism demands. Moral courage is the rarest of all the virtues of every-

day life; nothing else looks out of his deep-set eyes. But even his soothing patience has its exasperation for the nervous miracle-seeker who not infrequently approaches him.

There is much talk too in Zionist circles of the need of an economic program. The program of 1920 is meeting with some response in 1929. Meanwhile Brandeis has been thinking ahead. His mail daily brings him news from Palestine and from Zionists elsewhere. He is as well informed as ever. In his study is a large oil painting of Theodor Herzl and a small metal relief map of Palestine. But he needs no aids to inspiration. In fact, he is Zionistically at his best during the summer vacations. In an old sweater, under his heavy tweed jacket, cap on head, he saunters through the berry paths that lead from his Chatham home to the river inlet and to a chosen companion reveals his longings, hopes and aspirations. Only incidentally he looks back—mostly he looks forward. Twelve years ago he said "I am in a hurry because I must make up for lost time." This he no longer repeats. He is serene and confident that in the end the right will prevail. More than ever he is the moralist in action who compromises not an iota. He speaks scorningly to the weak and affectionately to the strong in faith.

III

Brandeis could repeat with Carlyle the words that conclude the *French Revolution:* "Man by the nature of him is definable as 'an incarnated word.' Ill stands it with me if I have spoken falsely. Thine also it was to hear truly."

Both in approach and in action he has in all things offered his fellow-Jews the code of simplicity. He has tried to restore spontaneity of response and he has taught single-mindedness and self-effacement. Wrong remains wrong and right is right and he will "do no little wrong to accomplish some great good."

Daily with furrowed brows he follows the course of events in Palestine, and patiently he observes the truth of the old Jewish maxim that "good yieldeth good and sin increaseth sin." As scornful as Isaiah in his castigation of evil he joins the brotherhood of the great prophets in his zeal for righteousness and in his faith in the ultimate achievement of Zion restored and Israel redeemed.

I. ZIONIST ADDRESSES 1910–1913

Justice Brandeis took no public part in Jewish affairs prior to December 1910, though he had contributed to local Boston Jewish charities for many years. At the end of November 1910, however, he granted an interview to a representative of the Boston *Jewish Advocate*. Zionism being then still largely a theoretic question the problem of patriotism bulked large in the discussion and therefore occupies the largest space in this first statement.

The above interview appeared in the *Jewish Advocate* of December 9, 1910.

In response to a question regarding his interest in the Zionist movement looking towards a revival of the Jewish State in Palestine Brandeis said:

JEWS AS A PRIEST PEOPLE

I have a great deal of sympathy for the movement and am deeply interested in the outcome of the propaganda. These so-called dreamers are entitled to the respect and appreciation of the entire Jewish people. Nobody takes greater pride than I do in the success of the individual members of my race. I mean success in a higher sense and I believe that the opportunities for members of my race are greater here than in any other country. I believe that the Jews can be just as much of a priest people today as they ever were in the prophetic days.

To the question—What do you consider the true relationship of the Jewish newcomers to America? Brandeis' answer was:

You must remember that we belong to a great people whose history for two thousand years presents an almost unbroken record of persecution. Today in this great country we have found a welcome. The obligations that devolve upon every one of us include above all things loyalty to American institutions. What does such loyalty demand?

In the first place, loyalty demands complete democracy—an elimination as far as possible of class distinction. In a country whose constitution prohibits discrimination on account of race or creed there is no place for what ex-President Roosevelt has called hyphenated Americans. There is room here for men of any race, of any creed, of any condition in life but not for Protestant-Americans, or Catholic-Americans, or Jewish-Americans, nor for German-Americans, Irish-Americans or Russian-Americans. This country demands that its sons and daughters whatever their race—however intense or diverse their religious connections—be politically merely American citizens. Habits of living, of thought which tend to keep alive difference of origin or to classify men according to their religious beliefs are inconsistent with the American idea of brotherhood and are disloyal.

In the second place, loyalty demands from the individual citizen a life consistent with the character and purpose of our institutions. Free government cannot endure, the purpose for which it exists cannot be attained, except among a people honest, courageous, intelligent and just. While we may not in America discriminate between men because of difference in race or creed we must distinguish clearly between the honest and the dishonest, between the pure and the corrupt, between the man of public spirit and him who is steeped in sordid selfishness. The

dishonest, the corrupt, the unjust, the selfish are hostile to the American ideal of brotherhood and are disloyal.

In the third place, loyalty demands of every citizen active participation in government. Of him who has most in ability and intelligence most is required, as the rich should contribute most in money to the expense of the government. Few have the privilege or the burden of serving the state in an elected or appointed office but nearly every male inhabitant holds by birth or naturalization the office of citizen and as such has the right and the obligation to vote. Every voter is a member of the government, is one of our country's rulers. The proper performance of the duties of that office is essential to the welfare of the state. These duties are not simple. They are difficult and exacting; for it is not sufficient that men vote—though even that formal duty is neglected by nearly two-fifths of our citizens. It is essential that men vote right. In order that a voter may vote properly, he must seek accurate information about men and measures. He must seek to distinguish between the good and the bad, between the genuine and the sham, between the demagogue and the statesman. Above all, he ought to recognize the seriousness of this office of citizen, the seriousness of the vote which is its expression. He may not cast it out of fear or favor or be influenced merely by friendship. He may not cast it lightly. He should remember that he holds the power which inheres in his vote as a sacred trust to be exercised for the common good, and that he who selfishly omits to cast it, as he who casts it selfishly, is disloyal.

Such is the loyalty demanded of an American; and lives so led are also the truest expression of loyalty to the noble traditions of the Jewish race. Through energy,

perseverance, self-restraint and devotion, guiding large intelligence or genius, men of Jewish blood have, wherever opportunity permitted, taken rank among the foremost in almost every branch of human activity. They have achieved much in the material world, but their greatest triumphs are spiritual. Prone to idolatry, they had power within themselves to hurl from its pedestal the golden calf. Lovers of ease, lovers of pleasure, lovers of money, they had power within themselves to save their souls by lives of austerity. The recognition of the high ideals of the Jewish race its members found at last in America. Loyalty to them is loyalty to true democracy —loyalty to the American ideals of Liberty, Fraternity and Justice.

ACCEPTANCE OF ZIONISM

There was no public occasion for the presentation of opinion during 1911 and 1912, though during both years Brandeis made some contributions to Zionist funds and attended several meetings. His first Zionist utterance was at a meeting of the Boston New Century Club, but as that was a private gathering there is no record of his address.

Brandeis' first public appearance on the Zionist platform was at a mass meeting held on Sunday, March 20, 1913, at the Plymouth Theatre, Boston. The principal speaker was Mr. Nahum Sokolow, who was then touring the country and Brandeis presided.

The following brief quotations are from Brandeis' introduction and equally brief closing remarks:—

Brandeis said he was present in order to evidence his personal affiliation with the Zionist movement, which he

recognized as a great ideal attempt to accomplish what had become the greatest Jewish need.

The Jewish people have a great vision. In every land they are struggling for social rights. They are trying to relieve the burden of their friends and relatives in Russia and to lessen the toil of the poor. The true happiness in life is not to donate, but to serve. The great message that Mr. Sokolow brought to Boston may sometime become a reality, and the Jewish people may establish the national state that they have aspired for and longed for so long.

We have listened to the unfolding of a wonderful dream. The great quality of the Jews is that they have been able to dream through all the long and dreary centuries; that mankind has credited them with another quality—the power to realize their dreams. The task ahead of them is to make this Zionist ideal a living fact. Quoting a Greek philosopher, a representative of that other great race that has done so much for mankind, he said: If they wish it, they can by service bring it about.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DO A MEAN THING

The following address was delivered at a meeting of the Chelsea (Mass.) Young Men's Hebrew Association on May 18, 1913:

A fortnight ago it was my privilege to spend the evening with one of the most interesting, brilliant and remarkable men I have ever met. He is the son of a poor Roumanian Jew who migrated from his native land thirty-two years ago to take up his residence in Palestine, the land of his fathers. The son, who is now at the head

of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station in Palestine, is Aaron Aaronsohn.[1] He made what is considered one of the most remarkable and useful discoveries in recent years, and possibly of all times. He discovered what is known as the "wild wheat"—the plant which botanists, all over the world, had been trying for years to discover. There is a hope that, by reason of this discovery, the food products of the world may be immeasurably increased in quantity; that it may be possible to extend the area of wheat culture by utilizing land long believed to be unfit for wheat culture because of the lack of moisture. He told us that it was his persistent efforts to improve the fertility of Palestine which had led to the discovery of the wild wheat—a discovery which has impressed the Government of the United States and which may mean much for the future of Palestine.

He told another story even more remarkable than the first. We were discussing the series of unpleasant occurrences in New York City, with which the Jewish name was connected last year. Then Mr. Aaronsohn told us that in Palestine, in the little communities which have grown up in the last thirty-two years and now number 10,000 Jewish souls, not a single crime was known to have been committed by one of our people during all that time. In our conversation I asked him: "How do you account for that fact?" He answered: "I account for the fact by this. Every member of that Jewish community is brought up to realize his obligation to the race. He is told of the great difficulties it passed through; that

[1] Aaron Aaronsohn came to the U.S.A. during the World War. He was killed by the fall of an aeroplane in crossing the English Channel early in 1919.

it has developed by long years of sacrifice; that by this means our people have been elevated to the thought of their obligation to the race; and all that is best in Jewish history is made to live in them. You will find in them," he said, "none of the weakness, none of the servility, which they or their parents had when they came to Palestine."

What is being achieved in Palestine can perhaps be achieved only there in the fullest degree; but the lesson applies to the Jews all over the world. We have our obligations—the same *noblesse oblige*. Our traditions are the same. They have all been transmitted also to us. We have not applied them in the same degree as those of our people who have returned to our ancestral home, Palestine. But the ages of sacrifice have left us with the sense of brotherhood. That brotherhood has given us the feeling of solidarity which makes each one of us press forward with loyalty to fulfill the obligations of the brotherhood; for we know, by the many sacrifices of our people, that the traditions of the race, the traditions that are sacred to the race, depend for their life upon the conduct of every single one of us.

It is not wealth, it is not station, it is not social standing and ambition, which can make us worthy of the Jewish name, of the Jewish tradition. To be worthy of our race, we must live up to and with our tradition. We must feel that we are the custodians of the tradition and record of our people. Every young man here must feel that he is the trustee of what is best in Jewish History. We cannot go as far as the people in Palestine, but we must allow their example to radiate throughout the world. At least we here can regard ourselves as the trustees of what

is best in Jewish History; and our solidarity must express to us the idea that he is guilty of a breach of that most sacred trust who even unconsciously departs from what the most noble traditions demand of us.

Here is the task before you. For it seems to me that the work of this and of all such associations is to promote the ideals which the Jews have carried forward through thousands of years of persecution and by much sacrifice. We must develop our understanding so that we realize that the difficulties which we have passed through have raised the quality of our achievements, and that the overcoming of obstacles is part of our attainments.

Men differ in ability, however great the average ability of the Jews is, but every single Jew can make his own contribution to the highest traditions of the race. Every single one of us can do that for himself. Every one of us can declare: "What is mean is not for us." We bespeak what is best, what is noblest and finest in all civilization. This is our heritage. We have survived persecution through the virtues and sacrifices of our ancestors. It is for us to follow in that path. It is the Jewish tradition, and the Jewish law, and the Jewish spirit which cannot turn us aside from the lessons of life. By instructing the children in Palestine in it, they live today for the highest and best in recognition of what life is, what life may be, and what is really worth while in this world.

To my mind for the attainment of that end, in order that the world may gain from what is best in us, we should aid in the effort of the Jews in Palestine in order that their spirit may spread all over the world and have its effect. We should all support the Zionist movement, although you or I do not think of settling in Palestine,

for there has developed and can develop in that old land to a higher degree, the spirit of which Mr. Aaronsohn speaks. If we aid that effort, the Jew will be brought to the full development of his manhood, and thus be enabled to do his full duty to his race and to his country.

You ask what the Young Men's Hebrew Association can do? It can perform anything worth while if it responds to this hope, if it lives in the knowledge that its members are doing their part in carrying forward the highest traditions of the race, and are making new records and greater lives for our people.

II. FORMATION OF ZIONIST PROVISIONAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

Four weeks after the outbreak of the World War the responsibility for the conduct of Zionist affairs throughout the world was transferred from Europe to the United States. On August 30, 1914, Brandeis was elected chairman of the Zionist Provisional Emergency Committee, at an extraordinary conference held at the Hotel Marseilles, New York City.

ACCEPTANCE OF CHAIRMANSHIP

I feel with all of you the gravity of the present situation. I feel, perhaps more than most of you, the difficulties which confront us, because I realize my own inability to contribute much to the removal of those difficulties. But I hold it to be my duty and my privilege to aid, and so far as it is in my power to do so, I will join you in this great work. I thank you for your confidence in my ability to help the cause.

I feel my disqualification for this task. Throughout long years which represent my own life, I have been to a great extent separated from Jews. I am very ignorant in things Jewish. But recent experiences, public and professional, have taught me this: I find Jews possessed of those very qualities which we of the twentieth century

seek to develop in our struggle for justice and democracy; a deep moral feeling which makes them capable of noble acts; a deep sense of the brotherhood of man; and a high intelligence, the fruit of three thousand years of civilization.

These experiences have made me feel that the Jewish People have something which should be saved for the world; that the Jewish People should be preserved; and that it is our duty to pursue that method of saving which most promises success. While I feel unable to bring to this task the knowledge, the experience, and the ability which it requires, I am glad to work to that end with you and the other Zionists of this and other countries.

By a sudden catastrophe, the movement has been deprived of leadership by those who for many years have successfully advanced it. In the last few weeks, since the need of American aid became probable, I have endeavored to acquaint myself with what had been accomplished. I am greatly impressed with the progress made; with the wisdom manifested; with the energy applied in overcoming difficulties.

And I may add that I am greatly encouraged, as I am sure everyone of you is, by what Dr. Levin has told us today. The spirit with which he has approached the questions discussed, the unusual intelligence with which he has dealt with them, intensifies my admiration for the work of the past.

For the work we need the cooperation of everyone here and of the tens of thousands whom those here can influence. Let us work together! Carry forward what others have, in the past, borne so well! Carry it forward to the goal for which we all long!

In the fall and winter of 1914–15 Brandeis delivered many addresses on behalf of the funds of the Zionist Provisional Emergency Committee. The quotations now of interest are those that deal with the revival of the Hebrew language.

THE REBIRTH OF THE JEWISH NATION

During most of my life my contact with Jews and Judaism was slight. I gave little thought to their problems, save in asking myself, from time to time, whether we were showing by our lives due appreciation of the opportunities which this hospitable country affords.

My approach to Zionism was through Americanism. In time, practical experience and observation convinced me that Jews were by reason of their traditions and their character peculiarly fitted for the attainment of American ideals. Gradually it became clear to me that to be good Americans, we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews, we must become Zionists.

To the worldly wise their efforts at colonization appeared very foolish. Nature and man presented obstacles in Palestine which appeared insuperable; and the colonists were ill equipped for their task, save in their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice.

Those who undertake to describe Palestine are apt to speak of it as a miniature California, in its climate, its topography and its agricultural possibilities. Others have compared it with Sicily—long the granary of Rome.

Much patience and perseverance and faith have been required to develop these possibilities of Palestine; and very much remains to be done to make the life of the

Jewish settler what it should be. But a commercial test has been made. The progress is obvious to every traveler; and it may already be measured in statistics. In a single generation the orange exportation grew from 60,000 boxes to 1,500,000; and the planting of orange groves in recent years has been so extensive that exports to twice this amount are expected within a few years when these trees should begin to bear fruit. The grape, the almond and the olive culture have prospered likewise, and there is an important export of wheat to Italy.

This material development has been attended by a spiritual and social development no less extraordinary; a development in education, in health and in social order; and in the character and habits of the population.

Perhaps the most extraordinary achievement in Jewish nationalism is the revival of the Hebrew Language, making it again a language for the common intercourse of men. The Hebrew tongue, called a dead language for so many centuries, has, in the Jewish colonies and in Jerusalem, become again a living mother tongue. The effect of this common language in unifying the Jews is of course great. For the Jews of Palestine came literally from all the lands of the earth, each speaking, except for the use of Yiddish or Spaniolish, the language of the country from which he came, and each remaining almost a stranger to the others.

But the effect of the renaissance of the Hebrew tongue is far greater than that of unifying the Jews. It is a potent factor in reviving the essentially Jewish spirit. It was a bold dream to plan the foundation of a new Jewish nation in Palestine by giving a common language to

the comers from many lands, particularly so when it is remembered that the language, long called dead, had not only to be introduced, but had to be adapted to modern use. Yet this has actually been accomplished in a single generation; and the man who took the first practical step —Ben Jehuda [1]—is still in Jerusalem engaged in furthering the work. His story will have its place in history.

In 1880, Ben Jehuda living comfortably in Paris, wrote an article for a Jerusalem paper demanding that Hebrew become the language of intercourse in the Talmudic schools of Palestine. The editor of the paper in which that article appeared spoke of the proposition as "a pious wish." Ben Jehuda was not content that it should remain a wish. He purposed that the wish should become a fact. So he went to Palestine himself.

He concluded that if Hebrew was to become a spoken language the way to begin with Hebrew was, as with charity, at home. He said he would marry no woman who did not speak Hebrew to him. Fortunately he found one who could; and Hebrew became the language of his own household. Then he declared he would deal only with those who would speak Hebrew. He was naturally regarded as half crazy. But soon others followed his example. Before a generation had passed, Hebrew became the language of kindergartens, of primary schools and of higher institutions of learning. For years, daily papers and magazines have been published, public lectures have been delivered, and plays performed in Hebrew in Palestine. Many parents learned Hebrew from their children.

[1] Ben Jehuda, the creative force behind the use of Modern Hebrew, died in Jerusalem in 1921.

And there are instances also of non-Jews learning Hebrew in order to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by the Hebrew educational and cultural institutions.

It was no ordinary sense of piety that made Ben Jehuda seek to introduce the Hebrew Language. He recognized what the leaders of other peoples seeking rebirth and independence have recognized—that it is through the national language, expressing the people's soul, that the national spirit is aroused, and the national power restored. Despite the prevalence of the English Tongue in Ireland, the revival of Gaelic became one of the most important factors in the movement which has just resulted in securing for the Irish their long-coveted home rule. The revival of Flemish was a potent factor in the rebirth of the Belgian people, who are now giving such good account of themselves. And so it was with the revival of Greek, of Bulgarian and of Serbian.

The intensity of conviction, the devotion which the revival of Hebrew has developed, was shown in the struggle last year for its maintenance in Palestinian schools. Believing that an effort was being made to supersede it in some of the schools, practically every teacher—200 in all—struck, thus giving up his only means of livelihood rather than submit to the impairment of the position of the Hebrew language. Pupils followed teachers; parents, aided by others in the community, willingly faced, despite their poverty, the burden of establishing new national schools so that their new-old national language might prevail. That is stuff out of which nations can be built.

The burden has fallen upon America to maintain, after years of travail, the Zionist movement now so

promising. The organization which has hitherto directed the movement has its headquarters in Berlin. The governing committee is composed mainly of citizens of the different nations now at war with one another. Some of the members are Russians, some Germans, some Austrians. The president of the Zionist body is a German. The leading financial institutions, through which the business of the organization is conducted, were formed under British law. The war has scattered these officers under conditions which prevent their cooperating or indeed communicating with one another. This prevents them from directing affairs in Palestine.

The establishment in a neutral country of a provisional committee to take up the work thus became necessary; and such a committee was naturally established in America, the only neutral country which has a large Jewish population, and where more than one-fifth of all the Jews in the world live. The committee so formed has at the outset the task of providing funds necessary for maintaining the Zionist Organization and institutions. Hitherto ninety per cent of all money required for this purpose was raised in Europe. The European Jews are now prevented from contributing practically anything. Upon us falls the obligation and the privilege of providing the needed funds. For this purpose it is necessary to raise at present $100,000 besides the other larger sums which the Jews of America must raise to relieve those made destitute by the war.

When we consider how large and generous has been the contribution of the Irish of America for the cause of home rule, the present demand upon the Jews for Zionist purposes seems small indeed. The Jews in America

can be relied upon to perform fully their obligation. And indeed there are special reasons why we should be eager to do so. Palestine gives promise of doing for us far more than we can ever be called upon to do for Palestine. For the Jewish renaissance in Palestine will enable us to perform our plain duty to America. It will help us to make toward the attainment of the American ideals of democracy and social justice that large contribution for which religion and life have peculiarly fitted the Jew.

We have an immediate and pressing duty, in the performance of which Zionism alone seems capable of affording effective aid. We must protect America and ourselves from the demoralization which has, to some extent, already set in among American Jews. Throughout all the years of persecution the general standard of morals was exceptionally high among the Jews. The Jewish criminal was rare. For with the Jews laws were self-enforcing; and each individual was his own policeman. The Rosenthal case with its horrible revelations of violence and corruption, and the white-slave prosecutions, with their disclosures of prostitution among Jewish women, brought to the American Jew a deep sense of humiliation, and to the thoughtful grave concern. What could be more remote from Jewish tradition than such resort to violence, unless it be the prevalence of unchastity?

The cause of this demoralization is clear. It results in large part from the fact that in our land of liberty all the restraints of religion and of law, by which the Jews were protected in their ghettos, have been removed and the new generation is left without necessary moral and spiritual support. And is it not equally clear what the only possible remedy is? It is the laborious task of in-

culcating self-respect—a task which can be accomplished only by restoring the ties of the Jew to the noble past of his race, and by making him realize the possibilities of a no less glorious future. Every Irish-American who contributed to advancing home rule was a better man and a better American for the sacrifice involved. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement of Palestine, though he feel sure that neither he nor his descendants will ever wish to go there, will likewise be a better man, and a better American for doing so.

There is one other consideration to which the Jews of America must give thought. Though the result of this war should be, as we hope, the removal or lessening of the disabilities under which the Jews labor in eastern Europe, nevertheless when peace comes, emigration from the war-stricken countries will certainly proceed in large volume, because of the misery incident to the war's devastations. More than one-half of the Jews of the whole world live in that territory near the western frontier of Russia which has become one of the two vast battlefields of the nations. Is it desirable that America should be practically the only country to which the Jews of eastern Europe may emigrate? Is it not desirable that Palestine should give a special welcome to the emigrant Jews as the Zionists propose?

I am impelled all the more to ask you for your support, both moral and financial, because at this critical juncture we should all stand together, so that when the occasion arises we may be of lasting service to our people. Now is not the time to foreshadow the policy which we should engage upon. But when the nations approach peace, the Jews of America, if united, may be a factor in ob-

taining for the Jews of other parts of the world something more real than promises of amelioration; something more lasting than philanthropy. This greater undertaking depends upon the readiness with which you rally in every possible way to the cause. Your loyalty to America, your loyalty to Judaism should lead you to support the Zionist cause.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM—HOW TO SOLVE IT

In June 1915 Brandeis enunciated his views of the Zionist Question in line with the theories formulated by Theodor Herzl in an address entitled "The Jewish Problem, How to Solve It." First delivered before the Eastern Council of the Central Conference of Reform Rabbis it was so popular that in pamphlet form it rapidly went through five editions. The address is particularly interesting for its clear definition of the difference between nation and nationality and its proclaiming in June 1915 the rights of minority groups.

The suffering of the Jews due to injustices continuing throughout nearly twenty centuries is the greatest tragedy in history. Never was the aggregate of such suffering larger than today. Never were the injustices more glaring. Yet the present is pre-eminently a time for hopefulness. The current of world thought is at last preparing the way for our attaining justice. The war is developing opportunities which may make possible the solution of the Jewish Problem. But to avail ourselves of these opportunities we must understand both them and ourselves. We must recognize and accept facts. We must consider

our course with statesmanlike calm. We must pursue resolutely the course we shall decide upon; and be ever ready to make the sacrifices which a great cause demands. Thus only can liberty be won.

For us the Jewish Problem means this: How can we secure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights and opportunities enjoyed by non-Jews? How can we secure for the world the full contribution which Jews can make, if unhampered by artificial limitations?

The problem has two aspects: That of the individual Jew—and that of Jews collectively. Obviously, no individual should be subjected anywhere, by reason of the fact that he is a Jew, to a denial of any common right or opportunity enjoyed by non-Jews. But Jews collectively should likewise enjoy the same right and opportunity to live and develop as do other groups of people. This right of development on the part of the group is essential to the full enjoyment of rights by the individual. For the individual is dependent for his development (and his happiness) in large part upon the development of the group of which he forms a part. We can scarcely conceive of an individual German or Frenchman living and developing without some relation to the contemporary German or French life and culture. And since death is not a solution of the problem of life, the solution of the Jewish Problem necessarily involves the continued existence of the Jews as Jews.

Jews have always found it difficult, if not impossible, to prescribe by definition who shall be deemed Jews. But in the connection in which we are considering the term, it is certainly not in the power of any single body

of Jews—or indeed of all Jews collectively—to establish the effective definition. The meaning of the word Jewish in the term Jewish Problem must be accepted as coextensive with the disabilities which it is our problem to remove. It is the non-Jews who create the disabilities and in so doing give definition to the term Jew. Those disabilities extend substantially to all of Jewish blood. The disabilities do not end with a renunciation of faith, however sincere. They do not end with the elimination, however complete, of external Jewish mannerisms. The disabilities do not end ordinarily until the Jewish blood has been so thoroughly diluted by repeated intermarriages as to result in practically obliterating the Jew.

And we Jews, by our own acts, give a like definition to the term Jew. When men and women of Jewish blood suffer—because of that fact—and even if they suffer from quite different causes—our sympathy and our help goes out to them instinctively in whatever country they may live and without inquiring into the shades of their belief or unbelief. When those of Jewish blood exhibit moral or intellectual superiority, genius or special talent, we feel pride in them, even if they have abjured the faith like Spinoza, Marx, Disraeli or Heine. Despite the meditations of pundits or the decrees of councils, our own instincts and acts, and those of others, have defined for us the term Jew.

Half a century ago the belief was still general that Jewish disabilities would disappear before growing liberalism. When religious toleration was proclaimed, the solution of the Jewish Problem seemed in sight. When the so-called rights of man became widely recognized, and the equal right of all citizens to life, liberty and the pursuit

of happiness began to be enacted into positive law, the complete emancipation of the Jew seemed at hand. The concrete gains through liberalism were indeed large. Equality before the law was established throughout the western hemisphere. The ghetto walls crumbled; the ball and chain of restraint were removed in central and western Europe. Compared with the cruel discrimination to which Jews are now subjected in Russia and Roumania, their advanced condition in other parts of Europe seems almost ideal.

But the anti-Jewish prejudice was not exterminated even in those countries of Europe in which the triumph of civil liberty and democracy extended fully to Jews "the rights of man." The anti-Semitic movement arose in Germany a year after the granting of universal suffrage. It broke out violently in France, and culminated in the Dreyfus case, a century after the French Revolution had brought "emancipation." It expressed itself in England through the Aliens Act, within a few years after the last of Jewish disabilities had been there removed by law. And in the United States the Lake Placid incident reminded us, long ago, that we too have a Jewish question.

The disease is universal and endemic. There is, of course, a wide difference between the Russian disabilities with their Pale of Settlement, their denial of opportunity for education and of choice of occupation, and their recurrent pogroms, and the German disabilities curbing university, bureaucratic and military careers. There is a wide difference also between these German disabilities and the mere social disabilities of other lands. But some of those now suffering from the severe disabilities imposed by Russia and Roumania are descendants of men

and women who in centuries before our modern liberalism enjoyed both legal and social equality in Spain and Southern France. The manifestations of the Jewish Problem vary in the different countries, and at different periods in the same country, according to the prevailing degree of enlightenment and other pertinent conditions. Yet the differences, however wide, are merely in degree and not in kind. The Jewish Problem is single and universal. But it is not necessarily eternal. It may be solved.

Why is it that liberalism has failed to eliminate the anti-Jewish prejudice? It is because the liberal movement has not yet brought *full* liberty. Enlightened countries grant to the individual equality before the law; but they fail still to recognize the equality of whole peoples or nationalities. We seek to protect as individuals those constituting a minority; but we fail to realize that protection cannot be complete unless group equality is recognized.

Deeply imbedded in every people is the desire for full development—the longing, as Mazzini phrased it, "to elaborate and express their idea, to contribute their stone also to the pyramid of history." Nationality like democracy has been one of the potent forces making for man's advance during the past hundred years. The assertion of nationality has infused whole peoples with hope, manhood and self-respect. It has ennobled and made purposeful millions of lives. It offered them a future, and in doing so revived and capitalized all that was valuable in their past. The assertion of nationality raised Ireland from the slough of despondency. It roused Southern Slavs to heroic deeds. It created gallant Belgium. It freed Greece. It gave us united Italy. It manifested itself even among the

free peoples—like the Welsh—who had no grievance, but who gave expression to their nationality through the revival of the old Cymric tongue. Each of these peoples developed because, as Mazzini said, they were enabled to proclaim "to the world that they also live, think, love and labor for the benefit of all."

In the past it has been generally assumed that the full development of one people necessarily involved its domination over others. Strong nationalities are apt to become convinced that by such domination only does civilization advance. Strong nationalities assume their own superiority, and come to believe that they possess the divine right to subject other peoples to their sway. Soon the belief in the existence of such a right becomes converted into a conviction that duty exists to enforce it. Wars of aggrandizement follow as a natural result of this belief.

This attitude of certain nationalities is the exact correlative of the position which was generally assumed by the strong in respect to other individuals before democracy became a common possession. The struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in peace and in war were devoted largely to overcoming that position as to individuals. In establishing the equal right of every person to development, it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation: Each man may develop himself so far, but only so far, as his doing so will not interfere with the exercise of a like right by all others. Thus liberty came to mean the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right

by every other of our fellow-citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth century democracy. Liberty thus defined exists in a large part of the western world. And even where this equal right of each individual has not yet been accepted as a political right, its ethical claim is gaining recognition. Democracy rejected the proposal of the superman who should rise through sacrifice of the many. It insists that the full development of each individual is not only a right, but a duty to society; and that our best hope for civilization lies not in uniformity, but in wide differentiation.

The movements of the last century have proved that whole peoples have individuality no less marked than that of the single person; that the individuality of a people is irrepressible, and that the misnamed internationalism which seeks the obliteration of nationalities or peoples is unattainable. The new nationalism proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has a right and duty to develop, and that only through such differentiated development will high civilization be attained. Not until these principles of nationalism, like those of democracy, are generally accepted, will liberty be fully attained, and minorities be secure in their rights. But there is ground for hope that the establishment of these principles will come as one of the compensations of the present war; and with it the solution of the Jewish Problem.

The difference between a nation and a nationality is clear; but it is not always observed. Likeness between members is the essence of nationality; but the members of a nation may be very different. A nation may be composed of many nationalities, as some of the most success-

ful nations are. An instance of this is the British nation, with its division into English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish at home; with the French in Canada; and, throughout the Empire, scores of other nationalities. Other examples are furnished by the Swiss nation with its German, French and Italian sections; by the Belgian nation composed of Flemings and Walloons; and by the American nation which comprises nearly all the white nationalities. The unity of a nationality is a fact of nature. The unifying of a nation is largely the work of man. The false doctrine that nation and nationality must be made coextensive is the cause of some of our greatest tragedies. It is, in large part, the cause also of the present war. It has led, on the one hand, to cruel, futile attempts at enforced assimilation, like the Russianizing of Finland and Poland, and the Prussianizing of Posen, Schleswig-Holstein, and Alsace-Lorraine. It has led, on the other hand, to those Panistic movements which are a cloak for territorial ambitions. As a nation may develop though composed of many nationalities, so a nationality may develop though forming part of several nations. The essential in either case is recognition of the equal rights of each nationality.

W. Allison Phillips recently defined nationality as "an extensive aggregate of persons, conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences, or qualities which make them feel themselves a distinct people." And he adds: "If we examine the composition of the several nationalities we find these elements: race, language, religion, common habitat, common conditions, mode of life and manners, political association. The elements are, how-

ever, never all present at the same time, and none of them is essential. . . . A common habitat and common conditions are doubtless powerful influences at times in determining nationality; but what part do they play in that of the Jews or the Greeks, or the Irish in dispersion?"

See how this high authority assumes without question that the Jews are, despite their dispersion, a distinct nationality; and he groups us with the Greeks or the Irish—two other peoples of marked individuality. Can it be doubted that we Jews—aggregating 14,000,000 people—are "an extensive aggregate of persons;" that we are "conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences and qualities which make us *feel* ourselves a distinct people," whether we admit it or not?

It is no answer to this evidence of nationality to declare that the Jews are not an absolutely pure race. There has, of course, been some intermixture of foreign blood in the three thousand years which constitute our historic period. But, owing to persecution and prejudice, the intermarriages with non-Jews which occurred have resulted merely in taking away many from the Jewish community. Intermarriage has brought few additions. Therefore, the percentage of foreign blood in the Jews of today is very low. Probably no important European race is as pure.

But common race is only one of the elements which determine nationality. Conscious community of sentiments, common experiences, common qualities are equally, perhaps more, important. Religion, traditions and customs bound us together, though scattered throughout the world. The similarity of experiences tended to produce similarity of qualities and community of sentiments. Com-

mon suffering so intensified the feeling of brotherhood as to overcome largely all the influences making for diversification. The segregation of the Jews was so general, so complete, and so long continued as to intensify our "peculiarities" and make them almost ineradicable.

We recognize that with each child the aim of education should be to develop his own individuality, not to make him an imitator, not to assimilate him to others. Shall we fail to recognize this truth when applied to whole peoples? And what people in the world has shown greater individuality than the Jews? Has any a nobler past? Does any possess common ideas better worth expressing? Has any marked traits worthier of development? Of all the peoples in the world those of two tiny states stand pre-eminent as contributors to our present civilization—the Greeks and the Jews. The Jews gave to the world its three greatest religions, reverence for law, and the highest conceptions of morality. Never before has the value of our contribution been so generally recognized. Our teaching of brotherhood and righteousness has, under the name of democracy and social justice, become the twentieth century striving of America and of western Europe. Our conception of law is embodied in the American Constitution which proclaims this to be a "government of laws and not of men." And for the triumph of our other great teaching —the doctrine of peace—this cruel war is paving the way.

While every other people is striving for development by asserting its nationality, and a great war is making clear the value of small nations, shall we voluntarily yield to anti-Semitism, and instead of solving our "problem" end it by ignoble suicide? Surely this is no time for Jews

to despair. Let us make clear to the world that we too are a nationality striving for equal rights to life and to self-expression. That this should be our course has been recently expressed by high non-Jewish authority. Thus Seton-Watson, speaking of the probable results of the war, said:

"There are good grounds for hoping that it [the war] will also give a new and healthy impetus to Jewish national policy, grant freer play to their splendid qualities, and enable them to shake off the false shame which has led men who ought to be proud of their Jewish race to assume so many alien disguises and to accuse of anti-Semitism those who refuse to be deceived by mere appearances. It is high time that the Jews should realize that few things do more to foster anti-Semitic feeling than this very tendency to sail under false colors and conceal their true identity. The Zionists and the orthodox Jewish Nationalists have long ago won the respect and admiration of the world. No race has ever defied assimilation so stubbornly and so successfully; and the modern tendency of individual Jews to repudiate what is one of their chief glories suggests an almost comic resolve to fight against the course of nature."

Standing upon this broad foundation of nationality, Zionism aims to give it full development. Let us bear clearly in mind what Zionism is, or rather what it is not.

It is not a movement to remove all the Jews of the world compulsorily to Palestine. In the first place, there are 14,000,000 Jews, and Palestine would not accommodate more than one-third of that number. In the second place, it is not a movement to compel anyone to go to Palestine. It is essentially a movement to give to

the Jew more, not less, freedom,—it aims to enable the Jews to exercise the same right now exercised by practically every other people in the world: To live at their option either in the lands of their fathers or in some other country; a right which members of small nations as well as of large,—which Irish, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, or Belgian, may now exercise as fully as Germans or English.

Zionism seeks to establish in Palestine, for such Jews as choose to go and remain there, and for their descendants, a legally secured home, where they may live together and lead a Jewish life, where they may expect ultimately to constitute a majority of the population, and may look forward to what we should call home rule. The Zionists seek to establish this home in Palestine because they are convinced that the undying longing of Jews for Palestine is a fact of deepest significance; that it is a manifestation in the struggle for existence by an ancient people which have established their right to live—a people whose three thousand years of civilization has produced a faith, culture, and individuality which enable them to contribute largely in the future, as they have in the past, to the advance of civilization; and that it is not a right merely, but a duty of the Jewish nationality to survive and develop. They believe that there only can Jewish life be fully protected from the forces of disintegration; that there alone can the Jewish spirit reach its full and natural development; and that by securing for those Jews who wish to settle in Palestine the opportunity to do so, not only those Jews, but all other Jews will be benefited and that the long perplexing Jewish Problem will, at last, find solution.

They believe that to accomplish this, it is not necessary that the Jewish population of Palestine be large as compared with the whole number of Jews in the world; for throughout centuries when the Jewish influence was greatest, during the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman Empires, only a relatively small part of the Jews lived in Palestine; and only a small part of the Jews returned from Babylon when the Temple was rebuilt.

Since the destruction of the Temple, nearly two thousand years ago, the longing for Palestine has been ever present with the Jew. It was the hope of a return to the land of his fathers that buoyed up the Jew amidst persecution, and for the realization of which the devout ever prayed. Until a generation ago this was a hope merely—a wish piously prayed for, but not worked for. The Zionist movement is idealistic, but it is also essentially practical. It seeks to realize that hope; to make the dream of a Jewish life in a Jewish land come true as other great dreams of the world have been realized—by men working with devotion, intelligence, and self-sacrifice. It was thus that the dream of Italian independence and unity, after centuries of vain hope, came true through the efforts of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour; that the dream of Greek, of Bulgarian and of Serbian independence became facts.

The rebirth of the Jewish nation is no longer a mere dream. It is in process of accomplishment in a most practical way, and the story is a wonderful one. A generation ago a few Jewish emigrants from Russia and from Roumania, instead of proceeding westward to this hospitable country where they might easily have secured

material prosperity, turned eastward for the purpose of settling in the land of their fathers.

To the worldly-wise these efforts at colonization appeared very foolish. Nature and man presented obstacles in Palestine which appeared almost insuperable; and the colonists were in fact ill-equipped for their task, save in their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. The land, harassed by centuries of misrule, was treeless and apparently sterile; and it was infested with malaria. The Government offered them no security, either as to life or property. The colonists themselves were not only unfamiliar with the character of the country, but were ignorant of the farmer's life which they purposed to lead; for the Jews of Russia and Roumania had been generally denied the opportunity of owning or working land. Furthermore, these colonists were not inured to the physical hardships to which the life of a pioneer is necessarily subjected. To these hardships and to malaria many succumbed. Those who survived were long confronted with failure. But at last success came. Within a generation these Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, and those who followed them, have succeeded in establishing these two fundamental propositions:

First: That Palestine is fit for the modern Jew.

Second: That the modern Jew is fit for Palestine.

Over forty self-governing Jewish colonies attest to this remarkable achievement.

This land, treeless a generation ago, supposed to be sterile and hopelessly arid, has been shown to have been treeless and sterile only because of man's misrule. It has been shown to be capable of becoming again a land

"flowing with milk and honey." Oranges and grapes, olives and almonds, wheat and other cereals are now growing there in profusion.

This material development has been attended by a spiritual and social development no less extraordinary; a development in education, in health and in social order; and in the character and habits of the population. Perhaps the most extraordinary achievement of Jewish nationalism is the revival of the Hebrew Language, which has again become a language of the common intercourse of men. The Hebrew tongue, called a dead language for nearly two thousand years, has, in the Jewish colonies and in Jerusalem, become again the living mother-tongue. The effect of this common language in unifying the Jews is, of course, great; for the Jews of Palestine came literally from all the lands of the earth, each speaking, excepting those who used Yiddish, the language of the country from which he came, and remaining in the main almost a stranger to the other Jews. But the effect of the renaissance of the Hebrew tongue is far greater than that of unifying the Jews. It is a potent factor in reviving the essentially Jewish spirit.

Our Jewish Pilgrim Fathers have laid the foundation. It remains for us to build the superstructure.

Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with Patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. Every Irish-American who contributed towards advancing home rule was a better man and a better

American for the sacrifice he made. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so. Note what Seton-Watson says:

"America is full of nationalities which, while accepting with enthusiasm their new American citizenship, nevertheless look to some center in the old world as the source and inspiration of their national culture and traditions. The most typical instance is the feeling of the American Jew for Palestine which may well become a focus for his *déclassé* kinsmen in other parts of the world."

There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry. The Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. Not since the destruction of the Temple have the Jews in spirit and in ideals been so fully in harmony with the noblest aspirations of the country in which they lived.

America's fundamental law seeks to make real the brotherhood of man. That brotherhood became the Jewish fundamental law more than twenty-five hundred years ago. America's insistent demand in the twentieth century is for social justice. That also has been the Jews' striving for ages. Their affliction as well as their religion has prepared the Jews for effective democracy. Persecution broadened their sympathies. It trained them in patient endurance, in self-control, and in sacrifice. It made them think as well as suffer. It deepened the passion for righteousness.

Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist. For only through the

ennobling effect of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give to this country the full benefit of our great inheritance. The Jewish spirit, so long preserved, the character developed by so many centuries of sacrifice, should be preserved and developed further, so that in America as elsewhere the sons of the race may in future live lives and do deeds worthy of their ancestors.

But we have also an immediate and more pressing duty in the performance of which Zionism alone seems capable of affording effective aid. We must protect America and ourselves from demoralization, which has to some extent already set in among American Jews. The cause of this demoralization is clear. It results in large part from the fact that in our land of liberty all the restraints by which the Jews were protected in their ghettos were removed and a new generation left without necessary moral and spiritual support. And is it not equally clear what the only possible remedy is? It is the laborious task of inculcating self-respect—a task which can be accomplished only by restoring the ties of the Jew to the noble past of his race, and by making him realize the possibilities of a no less glorious future. The sole bulwark against demoralization is to develop in each new generation of Jews in America the sense of *noblesse oblige*. That spirit can be developed in those who regard their race as destined to live and to live with a bright future. That spirit can best be developed by actively participating in some way in furthering the ideals of the Jewish renaissance; and this can be done effectively only through furthering the Zionist movement.

In the Jewish colonies of Palestine there are no Jewish

criminals; because everyone, old and young alike, is led to feel the glory of his race and his obligation to carry forward its ideals. The new Palestinian Jewry produces instead of criminals scientists like Aaron Aaronsohn, the discoverer of wild wheat; pedagogues like David Yellin; craftsmen like Boris Shatz, the founder of the Bezalel; intrepid Shom'rim, the Jewish guards of peace, who watch in the night against marauders and doers of violent deeds.

And the Zionist movement has brought like inspiration to the Jews in the Diaspora, as Steed has shown in this striking passage from "The Hapsburg Monarchy":

"To minds like these Zionism came with the force of an evangel. To be a Jew and to be proud of it; to glory in the power and pertinacity of the race, its traditions, its triumphs, its sufferings, its resistance to persecution; to look the world frankly in the face and to enjoy the luxury of moral and intellectual honesty; to feel pride in belonging to the people that gave Christendom its divinities, that taught half the world monotheism, whose ideas have permeated civilization as never the ideas of a race before it, whose genius fashioned the whole mechanism of modern commerce, and whose artists, actors, singers and writers have filled a larger place in the cultured universe than those of any other people. This, or something like this, was the train of thought fired in youthful Jewish minds by the Zionist spark. Its effect upon the Jewish students of Austrian universities was immediate and striking. Until then they had been despised and often ill-treated. They had wormed their way into appointments and into the free professions by dint of pliancy, mock humility, mental acuteness, and clandestine

protection. If struck or spat upon by 'Aryan' students, they rarely ventured to return the blow or the insult. But Zionism gave them courage. They formed associations, and learned athletic drills and fencing. Insult was requited with insult, and presently the best fencers of the fighting German corps found that Zionist students could gash cheeks quite as effectually as any Teuton, and that the Jews were in a fair way to become the best swordsmen of the university. Today the purple cap of the Zionist is as respected as that of any academical association.

"This moral influence of Zionism is not confined to university students. It is quite as noticeable among the mass of the younger Jews outside, who also find in it a reason to raise their heads, and, taking their stand upon the past, to gaze straightforwardly into the future."

Since the Jewish Problem is single and universal, the Jews of every country should strive for its solution. But the duty resting upon us of America is especially insistent. We number 3,000,000, which is more than one-fifth of all the Jews in the world—a number larger than that comprised within any other country, except the Russian Empire. We are representative of all the Jews in the world; for we are composed of immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, coming from every other country, or district. We include persons from every section of society, and every shade of religious belief. We are ourselves free from civil or political disabilities and are relatively prosperous. Our fellow-Americans are infused with a high and generous spirit, which insures approval of our struggle to ennoble, liberate, and otherwise improve the condition of an important part of the human race; and their innate

manliness makes them sympathize particularly with our efforts at self-help. America's detachment from the old-world problem relieves us from suspicions and embarrassments frequently attending the activities of Jews of rival European countries. And a conflict between American interests or ambitions and Jewish aims is not conceivable. Our loyalty to America can never be questioned.

Let us therefore lead—earnestly, courageously and joyously—in the struggle for liberation. Let us all recognize that we Jews are a distinct nationality of which every Jew, whatever his country, his station or shade of belief, is necessarily a member. Let us insist that the struggle for liberty shall not cease until equality of opportunity is accorded to nationalities as to individuals. Let us insist also that full equality of opportunity cannot be obtained by Jews until we, like members of other nationalities, shall have the option of living elsewhere or of returning to the land of our forefathers.

The fulfillment of these aspirations is clearly demanded in the interest of mankind, as well as in justice to the Jews. They cannot fail of attainment if we are united and true to ourselves. But we must be united not only in spirit but in action. To this end we must organize. Organize, in the first place, so that the world may have proof of the extent and the intensity of our desire for liberty. Organize, in the second place, so that our resources may become known and be made available. But in mobilizing our forces it will not be for war. The whole world longs for the solution of the Jewish Problem. We have but to lead the way, and we may be sure of ample cooperation from non-Jews. In order to lead the way,

we need not arms, but men; men with those qualities for which Jews should be peculiarly fitted by reason of their religion and life; men of courage, of high intelligence, of faith and public spirit, of indomitable will and ready self-sacrifice; men who will both think and do, who will devote high abilities to shaping our course and to overcoming the many obstacles which must from time to time arise. And we need other, many, many other men—officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and common soldiers in the cause of liberty, who will give of their time and resources, as occasion may demand, in unfailing and ever-strengthening support of the measures which may be adopted. Organization, thorough and complete, can alone develop such leaders and the necessary support.

Organize, Organize, Organize,—until every Jew in America must stand up and be counted—counted with us—or prove himself, wittingly or unwittingly, of the few who are against their own people.

A CALL TO THE EDUCATED JEWS

This address was delivered at a conference of the Menorah Societies in 1916 and was subsequently reprinted in the *Menorah Journal*.

While I was in Cleveland a few weeks ago, a young man who has won distinction on the bench told me this incident from his early life. He was born in a little village of Western Russia where the opportunities for schooling were meager. When he was thirteen his parents sent him to the nearest city in search of an education. There—in

Bialystok—were good secondary schools and good high schools; but the Russian law, which limits the percentage of Jewish pupils in any school, barred his admission. The boy's parents lacked the means to pay for private tuition. He had neither relative nor friend in the city. But soon three men were found who volunteered to give him instruction. None of them was a teacher by profession. One was a newspaper man; another was a chemist; the third, as I recall, was a tradesman; all were educated men. And throughout five long years these three men took from their leisure the time necessary to give a stranger an education.

The three men of Bialystok realized that education was not a thing of one's own to do with what one pleases —that it was not a personal privilege to be merely enjoyed by the possessor—but a precious treasure transmitted; a sacred trust to be held, used and enjoyed, and if possible strengthened—then passed on to others upon the same trust. Yet the treasure which these three men held and which the boy received in trust was much more than an education. It included that combination of qualities which enabled and impelled these three men to give, and the boy to seek and to acquire, an education. These qualities embrace: first, intellectual capacity; second, an appreciation of the value of education; third, indomitable will; fourth, capacity for hard work. It was these qualities which enabled the lad, not only to acquire, but to so utilize an education that, coming to America, ignorant of our language and of our institutions, he attained in comparatively few years the important office he has so honorably filled.

Whence comes this combination of qualities of mind,

body and character? These are qualities with which every one of us is familiar, singly and in combination; which you find in friends and relatives; and which others doubtless discover in you. They are qualities possessed by most Jews who have attained distinction or other success. In combination, they may properly be called Jewish qualities. For they have not come to us by accident; they were developed by three thousand years of civilization, and nearly two thousand years of persecution; developed through our religion and spiritual life; through our traditions; and through the social and political conditions under which our ancestors lived. They are, in short, the product of Jewish life.

Our intellectual capacity was developed by the almost continuous training of the mind throughout twenty-five centuries. The *Torah* led the "People of the Book" to intellectual pursuits at times when most of the Aryan peoples were illiterate. Religion imposed the use of the mind upon the Jews, indirectly as well as directly. It demanded of the Jew not merely the love, but also the understanding of God. This necessarily involved a study of the Law. The conditions under which the Jews were compelled to live during the last two thousand years promoted study in a people among whom there was already considerable intellectual attainment. Throughout the centuries of persecution practically the only life open to the Jew which could give satisfaction was the intellectual and spiritual life. Other fields of activity and of distinction which divert men from intellectual pursuits were closed to Jews. Thus they were protected by their privations from the temptations of material things and

worldly ambitions. Driven by circumstances to intellectual pursuits, their mental capacity gradually developed. And as men delight in that which they do well, there was an ever-widening appreciation of things intellectual.

Is not the Jews' indomitable will—the power which enables them to resist temptation and, fully utilizing their mental capacity, to overcome obstacles—is not that quality also the result of the conditions under which they lived so long? To live as a Jew during the centuries of persecution was to lead a constant struggle for existence. That struggle was so severe that only the fittest could survive. Survival was not possible except where there was strong will—a will both to live and to live as a Jew. The weaker ones passed either out of Judaism or out of existence.

And finally, the Jewish capacity for hard work is also the product of Jewish life—a life characterized by temperate, moral living continued throughout the ages, and protected by those marvelous sanitary regulations which were enforced through the religious sanctions. Remember, too, that amidst the hardship to which our ancestors were exposed it was only those with endurance who survived.

So let us not imagine that what we call our achievements are wholly or even largely our own. The phrase "self-made man" is most misleading. We have power to mar; but we alone cannot make. The relatively large success achieved by Jews wherever the door of opportunity was opened to them is due, in the main, to this product of Jewish life—to this treasure which we have

acquired by inheritance—and which we are in duty bound to transmit unimpaired, if not augmented, to coming generations.

But our inheritance comprises far more than this combination of qualities making for effectiveness. These are but means by which man may earn a living or achieve other success. Our Jewish trust comprises also that which makes the living worthy and success of value. It brings us that body of moral and intellectual perceptions, the point of view and the ideals, which are expressed in the term Jewish spirit; and therein lies our richest inheritance.

Is it not a striking fact that a people coming from Russia, the most autocratic of countries, to America, the most democratic of countries, comes here, not as to a strange land, but as to a home? The ability of the Russian Jew to adjust himself to America's essentially democratic conditions is not to be explained by Jewish adaptability. The explanation lies mainly in the fact that the twentieth century ideals of America have been the ideals of the Jew for more than twenty centuries. We have inherited these ideals of democracy and of social justice as we have the qualities of mind, body and character to which I referred. We have inherited also that fundamental longing for truth on which all science—and so largely the civilization of the twentieth century—rests; although the servility incident to persistent oppression has in some countries obscured its manifestation.

Among the Jews democracy was not an ideal merely. It was a practice—a practice made possible by the existence among them of certain conditions essential to successful democracy, namely:

First: An all-pervading sense of duty in the citizen.

Democratic ideals cannot be attained through emphasis merely upon the rights of man. Even a recognition that every right has a correlative duty will not meet the needs of democracy. Duty must be accepted as the dominant conception in life. Such were the conditions in the early days of the colonies and states of New England, when American democracy reached there its fullest expression; for the Puritans were trained in implicit obedience to stern duty by constant study of the Prophets.

Second: Relatively high intellectual attainments. Democratic ideals cannot be attained by the mentally undeveloped. In a government where everyone is part sovereign, everyone should be competent, if not to govern, at least to understand the problems of government; and to this end education is an essential. The early New Englanders appreciated fully that education is an essential of potential equality. The founding of their common school system was coincident with the founding of the colonies; and even the establishment of institutions for higher education did not lag far behind. Harvard College was founded but six years after the first settlement of Boston.

Third: Submission to leadership as distinguished from authority. Democratic ideals can be attained only where those who govern exercise their power not by alleged divine right or inheritance, but by force of character and intelligence. Such a condition implies the attainment by citizens generally of relatively high moral and intellectual standards; and such a condition actually existed among the Jews. These men who were habitually denied rights, and whose province it has been for centuries "to suffer and to think," learned not only to sympathize with their

fellows (which is the essence of democracy and social justice), but also to accept voluntarily the leadership of those highly endowed, morally and intellectually.

Fourth: A developed community sense. The sense of duty to which I have referred was particularly effective in promoting democratic ideals among the Jews, because of their deep-seated community feeling. To describe the Jew as an individualist is to state a most misleading half-truth. He has to a rare degree merged his individuality and his interests in the community of which he forms a part. This is evidenced among other things by his attitude toward immortality. Nearly every other people has reconciled this world of suffering with the idea of a beneficent Providence by conceiving of immortality for the individual. The individual sufferer bore present ills by regarding this world as merely the preparation for another, in which those living righteously here would find individual reward hereafter. Of all the nations, Israel "takes precedence in suffering"; but, despite our national tragedy, the doctrine of individual immortality found relatively slight lodgment among us. As Achad Ha'am so beautifully said: "Judaism did not turn heavenward and create in Heaven an eternal habitation of souls. It found 'eternal life' on earth, by strengthening the social feeling in the individual; by making him regard himself not as an isolated being with an existence bounded by birth and death, but as part of a larger whole, as a limb of the social body. This conception shifts the center of gravity not from the flesh to the spirit, but from the individual to the community; and concurrently with this shifting, the problem of life becomes a problem not of individual, but of social life. I live for the sake of the perpetuation and

happiness of the community of which I am a member; I die to make room for new individuals, who will mould the community afresh and not allow it to stagnate and remain forever in one position. When the individual thus values the community as his own life, and strives after its happiness as though it were his individual well-being, he finds satisfaction, and no longer feels so keenly the bitterness of his individual existence, because he sees the end for which he lives and suffers." Is not that the very essence of the truly triumphant twentieth-century democracy?

Such is our inheritance; such the estate which we hold in trust. And what are the terms of that trust; what the obligations imposed? The short answer is *noblesse oblige;* and its command is two-fold. It imposes duties upon us in respect to our own conduct as individuals; it imposes no less important duties upon us as part of the Jewish community or race. Self-respect demands that each of us lead individually a life worthy of our great inheritance and of the glorious traditions of the race. But this is demanded also by respect for the rights of others. The Jews have not only been ever known as a "peculiar people"; they were and remain a distinctive and minority people. Now it is one of the necessary incidents of a distinctive and minority people that the act of any one is in some degree attributed to the whole group. A single though inconspicuous instance of dishonorable conduct on the part of a Jew in any trade or profession has far-reaching evil effects extending to the many innocent members of the race. Large as this country is, no Jew can behave badly without injuring each of us in the end. Thus the Rosenthal and the white-slave traffic cases, though local to New

York, did incalculable harm to the standing of the Jews throughout the country. The prejudice created may be most unjust; but we may not disregard the fact that such is the result. Since the act of each becomes thus the concern of all, we are perforce our brothers' keepers. Each, as co-trustee for all, must exact even from the lowliest the avoidance of things dishonorable; and we may properly brand the guilty as traitor to the race.

But from the educated Jew far more should be exacted. In view of our inheritance and our present opportunities, self-respect demands that we live not only honorably but worthily; and worthily implies nobly. The educated descendants of a people which in its infancy cast aside the Golden Calf and put its faith in the invisible God cannot worthily in its maturity worship worldly distinction and things material. "Two men he honors and no third," says Carlyle—"the toil-worn craftsman who conquers the earth and him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable."

And yet, though the Jew make his individual life the loftiest, that alone will not fulfill the obligations of his trust. We are bound not only to use worthily our great inheritance, but to preserve and, if possible, augment it; and then transmit it to coming generations. The fruit of three thousand years of civilization and a hundred generations of suffering may not be sacrificed by us. It will be sacrificed if dissipated. Assimilation is national suicide. And assimilation can be prevented only by preserving national characteristics and life as other peoples, large and small, are preserving and developing their national life. Shall we with our inheritance do less than the Irish, the Serbians, or the Bulgars? And must we not, like

them, have a land where the Jewish life may be naturally led, the Jewish language spoken, and the Jewish spirit prevail? Surely we must, and that land is our fathers' land: it is Palestine.

The undying longing for Zion is a fact of deepest significance—a manifestation in the struggle for existence. Zionism is, of course, not a movement to remove all the Jews of the world compulsorily to Palestine. In the first place, there are in the world about 14,000,000 Jews, and Palestine would not accommodate more than one-third of that number. In the second place, this is not a movement to compel anyone to go to Palestine. It is essentially a movement to give to the Jew more, not less, freedom—a movement to enable the Jews to exercise the same right now exercised by practically every other people in the world—to live at their option either in the land of their fathers or in some other country; a right which members of small nations as well as of large—which Irish, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian or Belgian, as well as German or English—may now exercise.

Furthermore, Zionism is not a movement to wrest from the Turk the sovereignty of Palestine. Zionism seeks merely to establish in Palestine for such Jews as choose to go and remain there, and for their descendants, a legally secured home, where they may live together and lead a Jewish life; where they may expect ultimately to constitute a majority of the population, and may look forward to what we may call home rule.

The establishment of the legally secured Jewish home is no longer a dream. For more than a generation brave pioneers have been building the foundations of our new-old home. It remains for us to build the super-structure.

The ghetto walls are now falling. Jewish life cannot be preserved and developed, assimilation cannot be averted, unless there be reestablished in the fatherland a center from which the Jewish spirit may radiate and give to the Jews scattered throughout the world that inspiration which springs from the memories of a great past and the hope of a great future. To accomplish this it is not necessary that the Jewish population of Palestine be large as compared with the whole number of Jews in the world. Throughout centuries when the Jewish influence was great and it was working out its own and in large part the world's destiny, during the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman Empires, only a relatively small part of the Jews lived in Palestine; and only a small part of the Jews returned from Babylon when the Temple was rebuilt.

The glorious past can really live only if it becomes the mirror of a glorious future; and to this end the Jewish home in Palestine is essential. We Jews of prosperous America above all need its inspiration. And the Menorah men should be its builders.

BOSTON ZIONIST CONVENTION ADDRESSES

Participating in all the functions connected with the Zionist Convention held in Boston in June 1915, Brandeis delivered a number of addresses of which three have been recorded. The third of the group quoted was delivered in Chelsea, Mass., where an open-air session was held in order to enable the great mass of Jews resident in that city to participate in the Zionist gatherings.

I

This great assembly manifests the essential unity of the Jewish people. Those who are in this crowded hall, together with those who have failed to gain admittance, constitute a large part of the Jews of Massachusetts. You testify by your presence to your great interest in the movement which is destined to lead to the solution of the Jewish problem. Zionism points the way to a solution, because it will enable the Jewish people to help themselves and thus be also of greatest service to the world; Zionism will make it possible for Jews to put an end to wholesale misery and not merely alleviate it.

I interpret your presence here as an expression of your faith; as testimony to your interest; as a promise to aid in carrying forward the Jewish ideals; as a determination to realize the Jewish hope of the twentieth century. Realization demands of you, of course, much more than expressions of sympathy. It demands action that we expect from you—being Americans. First, you must bind yourselves together by organizations into an effective body. By so doing you will not only manifest indomitable will, you will fashion the indispensable instrument for achievement. Stand up, each and every one of you, and be counted. Join the Zionist organization. By its record, evidence that you will bear your part in this great movement. Only by bearing your part can you be true to the Jewish people. Only by bearing your part can you be true to the American Government. No American—man or woman—may shirk when a great cause is to be striven for and won.

Such is our duty as Jews and as Americans. By battling for the Zionist cause, the American ideal of democracy, of social justice and of liberty will be given wider expression. By such action that manhood and womanhood of American Jews will be made manifest to the world. By concrete action, the prayer of twenty centuries will be made to come true. The great Herzl was right when he said in his *Altneuland*, "If you wish it, it is no fable." Dreams may be made into realities.

II

It is fitting that I should preface the report for the Provisional Committee, with this statement: What has been accomplished is due primarily to the great cause which we represent, and next to the constant aid and support given us at home and abroad by the officials of the United States Government. Without the aid given by officials of the Department of State and of the Navy Department, it would have been impossible to render the assistance which has preserved the Palestinian colonies and saved our brethren from distress. In recounting the aid nobly given us by this great Republic, it would be invidious to name individuals. For help has been given, generously and graciously, by every official of the United States, highest or lowest, whenever help was possible. But it may be proper to mention Ambassador Morgenthau, because he is a Jew. With signal devotion, and with the efficiency and ability which is his own, he has watched over our interests. Supported by a great and sympathetic government he has done all that man could do to aid our efforts to preserve and protect Zionist institutions and the Jews of Palestine.

The path of the Zionist in America, during this year of trial, has been a relatively easy one by the fact that the Zionist ideals, the highest Jewish ideals, are essentially the American ideals. Democracy is also a Zionist concept. Social justice is also a Zionist aim. Full and complete liberty is an essential of triumphant Zionism as it is the American ideal of the twentieth century. As Americans, and as Jews battling for the American ideals, we may look forward to the support of a great majority of the Jews of the United States.

The detail of the work of the Provisional Committee will be stated at later meetings of Convention week. But this I should say on behalf of the committee. We believe as must each of you—that the day for which Rabbi Berlin prayed is near. The day when we Zionists will speak only of Jews, for practically all Jews will be Zionists.

III

We have come to Chelsea. We have transferred our meeting to another city. In doing so, we have made an exception to a rule hitherto adhered to vigorously by the Zionist conventions. We have not done this because the invitation extended was uncommonly gracious. We have come because in Chelsea Jews constitute a larger percentage of the population than in any other city of the United States; because the Jews of Chelsea have by their conduct, given to the Jewish name a good reputation here and throughout the Commonwealth; because one of our great leaders has told us that nowhere in the wide world had he been given more sympathetic and intelligent attention than by your city. These are the reasons why we accepted the Chelsea invitation.

We did so, not however as a compliment. We have come in order to achieve for our movement something both definite and practical. We want not merely Zionist sympathy, we want definite Zionist action. That is essential to the development of our movement. It is indispensable to acquiring the influence which we expect to exercise among the nations of the world. The Jews of America must manifest their interest by overt acts. They must stand up and be counted. They must show by sacrifices their readiness to support the cause which we espouse.

Chelsea, as we believe, is the place where the plan which we have formulated should be inaugurated; our purpose is to make every adult Jew in this city a member of a Zionist society. We say every Jew—women as well as men, for in the Zionist organization there prevails equal suffrage, equal rights. Equal rights spell equal obligations. Indeed no part of the Zionist membership has shown a more definite determination to bear its obligations than the women's organization—the Hadassah. I may add that measures and projects evidencing the highest statesmanship manifested in the conduct of our Palestinian colonies have originated in the minds of the women. And they have been carried out largely through the determination, the persistence and the devotion of women. So in asking for the enrollment of the Jews in Chelsea, we are making no distinction; men and women, both, are equally welcome.

We shall not be satisfied merely with the enrollment of these twenty-five hundred adult Jews of Chelsea. We ask that in the appropriate manner every child also should be enrolled. Boys and girls should be enrolled

as members of the Young Judea. There they will be trained in Zionism. There they will learn to know their ancestors' great past. There they will be taught to live in a way becoming that past; and when they grow up, they, too, shall be equipped for the harder task of Palestine building even better than their parents. Looking forward to progress in our movement we are planning that the rising generation shall be thoroughly educated in Zionist beliefs and needs, so that they may be equipped when the State calls them. Therefore, we propose that not only shall the 2,500 adult Jews become members of some local Chelsea Zionist organization; their children shall become members of the Young Judea. And as shekel payers all should be formally associated with the Zionist Organization.

More than two years ago it was my great privilege to come to Chelsea on the occasion of a banquet given by the Young Men's Hebrew Association. The young men whom I then met were full of determination. They made me believe more strongly than ever in the possibilities of the American Jew. Their membership, as I recall, is about three hundred; I propose to them this task: Let these three hundred men enlist as volunteers, under a committee to be formed by your Chairman, Mr. Lurie, and undertake that task of enrolling the Jews of Chelsea—both parents and children—in the Zionist organization. In this way they may prove that they are prepared to make sacrifices for the cause.

When Chelsea has performed this task, we propose, with your example as our slogan, to attempt the same work in other cities of the Commonwealth. The other cities are less favorably situated in this respect than

yours. But with your good example and the lesson learned through your experience, we shall be encouraged to attempt the enrollment of the Jews of Massachusetts. With Massachusetts won, we shall proceed to other New England States, and finally to other parts of the country. By steady pursuit of these means we may hope to secure formal recognition of the demands of the Jewish people. Such action will be compelling evidence to the world of Jewish unity. It will make manifest the Jewish determination to secure for the Jews the world over full liberty. And in that is included the right to a publicly recognized, legally secured home in Palestine.

DUTIES OF JEWISH DEMOCRACY

This address was delivered before the Provisional Zionist Emergency Committee at the annual Zionist Convention held in Philadelphia, July 7, 1916.

Our work can be accomplished only if we recognize and live up to the fundamental basis of Zionism—the democracy of the Jewish people. Democracy means not merely, I had almost said not so much, the rights of the whole people, as the duties of the whole people. It means that every Jew in this land, preeminently every Jew in the Zionist Movement, has a right to be heard. What is more, he has also a duty to be heard. This duty extends down to every private in the ranks—each and every man, each and every woman, must realize that with him or her rests the power; that upon them rests the duty to spread the Zionist Movement—spread the

Ideal and the work by word of mouth, by act, and by constant sacrifice. For only by constant sacrifice on the part of the whole people can we achieve what we are seeking to achieve. There should be no such thing as leaving tasks to be done by the chosen officers, by the officers of the Provisional Committee, or the Federation, or of any of the other numerous central and local organizations.

It is the proud boast (if boast there be on the part of the Jewish people) that they have been a literate people, accustomed for thousands of years to using the mind and accustomed to study, learning and intellectual prowess. We may ask, therefore, of each and every Zionist that he make study a part of his daily work; study of Zionist facts, not merely of the theory of Zionism. Doubtless every Zionist has some knowledge of the theory of Zionism; but the facts of Zionism, what is being done in Europe and what is being done in America to advance the Zionist cause, should be known by each of us. If you know what is being done, if you understand the Zionist past and particularly if you understand the Zionist present, you will be able to picture it and the Zionist future to others; and you cannot adequately aid in our work unless you have that knowledge.

Every Zionist should make it a part of his business to read at least one of our Zionist papers and to read it, not cursorily as he reads and throws away the daily paper, morning and afternoon, but to read the Zionist paper so as to know what it brings. Read the facts. Master the facts and you will be able to overcome the indifference, the opposition which surrounds you. Approach then the people who are Zionistically inclined but indifferent; ad-

dress yourselves to them; make them understand what the problem is; make them understand what the remedy is. In at least nine cases out of ten, they will be obliged to admit that the Zionist program offers the only practical remedy. People who wish to help and will use their brains, must fall in with that program.

No Zionist is doing his duty unless he is affiliated with a Zionist Organization, and no member of a Zionist organization is doing his duty unless he sees to it that not only he but his brother and sister are doing the Zionist work. In that way and in that way only can we achieve what is before us.

We have, as the figures tell you, accomplished much. But the figures are only a part and not the most important part of what has been done. The most important work is that which has made those figures possible, the spread, the intensification of Zionist conviction—that is what has made it possible to do what we have done. But what we have done is of interest mainly as an indication of what we can do. The past is valuable as the mirror of the future. In the past year, we have in all our activities—in the increase of membership in the Zionist Organization, in the collection of funds for Zionist purposes, in the impression we have made upon the general public, Jewish and non-Jewish—in all of those fields, practically doubled the activity of the preceding year. Now we must look forward to doubling the activity and the accomplishment in the field of Zionist endeavor during this year of 1916–17. Unless we do double this accomplishment in each and every field of activity, we shall be inadequate for the task which is set before us and which the Jews of the world are looking to us to perform.

When shall this work begin? The work on the part of each and every one of you here, and of the friends and associates whom you can reach and to whom you can carry our message, should begin immediately after the convention is the beginning, not the end, of the season's in which we live, every Zionist should realize that this convention is the beginning, not the end of the season's activities, and that during the months of July, August and September there should be on behalf of each and every one of us determined effort to start forward in the new field of work which is before us. In that way, and in that way only, can we hope throughout this year to bear the burdens which we have assumed.

There has been talk by each of the speakers about the fund of $240,000 which we propose to raise, because we must raise it, using that fund throughout the coming twelve months. Do not be deceived by the sum named. That is the money which we need for what we call the Emergency Fund. We need an infinite amount more. But that fund of $20,000 which we must raise each and every month for the ordinary disbursements of the Provisional Committee is of vast importance. In order that you may have before you a perfectly clear picture of what it means to raise that fund, remember that last year our budget called for only $135,000. In other words, we must almost double our regular budget, the amounts to be raised from and through our members for this ordinary work of the Provisional Committee. There comes, in addition to that, the extraordinary work, the work for relief and those large loans of which you have heard.

No month must pass without our raising or having

raised $20,000 for the ordinary expenses and disbursements of the organization of the month. It should be done, so far as possible, by pledges, monthly or annual pledges, by self-taxation on the part of members and of societies. Because the Zionist Organization, even if it may go out and seek in its ordinary propaganda to raise large sums, should have a regular income to meet its regular budget. I hope the time will come soon, when the Committee may say: "Our regular expenses are taken care of." Besides that we are to raise large sums which are required in order to carry forward the Zionist work throughout the world, and particularly the Zionist development in Palestine.

In conducting this work of our organization, we must call upon ourselves and upon others for an account, a monthly account, of what is being accomplished—this is to my mind one of the most important features of our method of proceeding. I want to say a few words to you on the importance of sending to the respective organizations a monthly account of what has been accomplished, in order that you may repeat them to your associates at home. We must get from every local a monthly account of the additions of membership; a monthly account of funds raised; a monthly account of the activities and the meetings, and other functions that have been held. A difficult task you may call it. Yet you must realize, on a moment's reflection, that without that monthly account those who are endeavoring to lead and to direct your organization, who determine what obligations it may assume, will go astray in their calculations, if you fail to give them these accounts. The central body

necessarily relies upon the local organizations scattered throughout the country. Those who direct must have regular accounts of what is being done, in order that they may act intelligently in the present and plan wisely for the future. I ask each and every one of you to impress this upon your associates. Every unnecessary letter which you compel the central organization to write in order to remind you and your organization of the necessity of sending an account, or to remind you and your associates to pay the pledge which you have made for the Zionist activities, detracts by just that much from what the Federation, the Provisional Committee and the other organizations could otherwise accomplish.

That task of looking after others to see that they do their work is a task which, in a democratic body like the Zionist Organization, ought to be wholly unnecessary. An organization of democrats is an organization of equals. Members of such a body ought not to require policemen to see that they do their duty, or inspectors to see that they perform their task. Just as it is a part of the Zionist duty of each and every member to press forward in the work of propaganda instead of leaving it to the officers, so each member should, so far as possible, relieve the officers of all other kinds of work. The mere task of direction is a serious one. When once a rule has been laid down, when once a direction has been given, it ought to be the eager desire of each and every affiliated Zionist to obey those rules, to enforce the law upon themselves and not have it enforced upon them. It is a reflection upon ourselves, if any officer of any organization is compelled to call upon us more than once to induce us

to carry out our duties to the Zionist ideal to which we have pledged our loyalty.

Such is the work before us. Such is the work for each and every one. For every man, woman and child in the service of the Zionist Ideal.

III. THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS AGITATION 1915–16

Immediately following the organization of the Zionist Provisional Committee in August 1914, an exchange of letters took place between Brandeis and Mr. Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee, which opened up the possibility of the convening of a general conference on Jewish affairs. The idea of holding an American Jewish Congress was not however seriously considered until the early summer of 1915 when the independent proponents of the Congress at the Boston Zionist Convention, obtained the support and transferred the leadership of their cause to the Zionist Organization. The American Jewish Committee, through its Executive Committee of which Dr. Cyrus Adler was Chairman, decided in favor of a conference limited in scope of program and number of delegates and to be held privately. The Congress movement stood on a direct democratic electoral basis and favored open sessions. The differences called forth considerable correspondence. From Brandeis' rejoinders to Dr. Adler, we quote the following excerpts as illustrative of his basic views on the organization and responsibility which should prevail in the conduct of Jewish affairs.

The quotations are from letters written July 28, and August 10, 1915.

DEMOCRACY IN JEWISH LIFE

Democracy demands that those representatives of the Jews of America who are to assemble in conference to take action concerning the problems of the Jewish people, shall have some voice in determining the conditions under

which the conference shall convene and the scope of its deliberations. The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee has assumed to determine these matters itself; to determine in advance not only when and where the Conference shall be held; what the aggregate number of delegates shall be; which organizations shall be permitted to send delegates; and what number of representatives each such organization shall have; but also what its plans and scope shall be. Obviously the mere formality now proposed by the Executive Committee of having certain other organizations, selected by it, sign with the American Jewish Committee the call to the Conference, would not make the proceedings any less undemocratic. So fundamental an objection as lack of democratic character can be removed only by a change equally fundamental. All National organizations must be given some voice in determining the conditions, plan and scope of the Conference or Congress. It was to this end that I proposed that your Committee join ours in inviting the leading organizations, say, twelve to twenty-four, each to send one delegate to a preliminary conference which should determine when, where and how a Congress should be called, and also the number of delegates; how they should be selected; and generally the plan of the Congress; and that its scope, to be set forth in the call, be broadly the problems of the Jewish people, so that the Congress itself might determine, after full discussion, what particular subjects it shall act upon.

The American Jewish Committee's Conference plan is not cooperative. Cooperation demands that those who are to work together shall have the opportunity, as well as the responsibility of sharing in important fundamental

determinations. The conditions under which the Congress (or Conference) shall be held, who should participate, the extent of participation, how the delegates shall be selected, and generally the plan and scope, are of the very essence of the Congress. But your plan vests this grave responsibility in the American Jewish Committee alone, and precludes others from participating in the determination of these matters.

Your committee's Conference plan places a limitation upon the scope of the deliberations, which limitation may greatly impair, if not wholly defeat, the usefulness of the Conference (or Congress). Your committee undertakes to decide (in advance) for the Jews of America what they shall and what they shall not discuss, and within what limits they may act in Conference (or Congress) assembled. Is it not clear that neither the American Jewish Committee nor the Zionist Committee, acting alone or acting jointly, should arrogate to itself or themselves the function of determining on what subjects the Conference (or Congress) should act? Neither of our Committees acting separately can justly claim to represent all the Jews of America; nor can the two Committees jointly justly make such a claim. Neither of our Committees acting separately, nor the two jointly, has any mandate which entitles it or them, to determine in advance (without even consulting the other national organizations) what measures may best subserve the interest of the Jewish people.

The dangers incident to the method adopted by the American Jewish Committee in assuming to determine alone and make itself entirely responsible for all the component elements in such a Conference (or Congress) is

exhibited by the "List of organizations to be invited to participate in the Jewish Conference," of which you were good enough to hand me a copy. Taking three of the organizations of kindred type there named, I find your Committee has allotted to their respective memberships the following disproportionate delegate-rights:

To one with 84,000 members, 5 delegates.

To one with 64,000 members, 2 delegates.

To one with 40,000 members, 1 delegate.

As to your refusal of my request that you call together the full committee to consider my arguments in favor of the American Jewish Committee's cooperating with the other national organizations in a congress to be convened and conducted on a democratic basis: Your refusal of my request seems to me most regrettable; for there never was a time when the Jewish people stood in greater need than now of united and of patient deliberation. Your refusal to permit my arguments to be presented to the full committee—seems to me strong evidence that there exists in your Executive Committee that absolutistic spirit against which the proposers of a democratic congress have so earnestly protested.

While refusing the request for a hearing of my arguments by your full committee you courteously renew the invitation to the Zionists to attend the conference at Washington which your committee has called for October 24th. The need of wise counsel in Jewish affairs and of unity is now so great, that I should earnestly urge my associates to yield, where possible, their objections and attend your conference—if I believed there was the least likelihood of such a conference serving the Jewish cause. But I am convinced that the conference which you have

decided upon will be worse than futile; it will be positively dangerous to Jewish interests.

You state: "The conference that we are planning is to meet in executive session, and only the results of its action are to be made known to the public through such definite authorized channels and to the extent which the conference itself shall decide."

Secrecy necessarily breeds suspicion and creates misunderstanding. Suspicion and misunderstanding have been among the greatest enemies of the Jews in the past. A conference conducted in secret sessions as your committee has decided, would, if generally participated in by the Jews of this country, prove a menace both to them and to the Jews of the rest of the world. It is only through a frank and open discussion of the conditions, the sufferings and hopes of our people that we may expect to secure the cooperation of non-Jews in our effort to obtain justice and rights. It is only through a congress convened and conducted on a democratic basis, that we can expect to secure that thorough cooperation of the Jews for self-help, without which they cannot be freed from existing injustice and oppression.

You say I err in assuming that in a matter of this kind "the American Jewish Committee stands upon a footing exactly similar to that of the Federation of American Zionists, or other national bodies." On the contrary, I was fully aware of the powers granted to itself by the American Jewish Committee and set forth in its charter. But the process by which the American Jewish Committee was called into existence was as undemocratic as the steps you have now taken to create a Jewish conference. And I use the term "democratic" in the Ameri-

can sense when I say that an organization in which a system of self-election and perpetuation in office is in vogue, and which meets always in secret session cannot properly be called democratic.

JEWISH RIGHTS

January 24, 1916, a mass meeting was held in Carnegie Hall, New York City, to arouse public interest in the Jewish Congress movement. Brandeis was the principal speaker and delivered this address.

Five weeks ago many of you met in this hall to consider the misery of the Jews in the war zone, and to aid in relief measures.[1] This week, under the proclamation of our President, a special effort will be made throughout the United States to raise funds for that purpose. The need is urgent. The matter is one of life or death. To give quickly and to give generously is imperative. Each of you doubtless will do this. For you must realize that the relief funds, though large, will still leave thousands of our brethren in danger of starvation.

But though we may give ever so generously in money, we shall still fail to do our part in this great crisis unless we seek not merely to alleviate the suffering of individual Jews, but to end the wrongs to the Jewish people. We cannot cope with individual suffering unless we succeed in removing the cause of that suffering. And the fundamental cause of Jewish misery is not the war. The war is but an accident which has made the long existing misery obvious

[1] The reference is to the Jewish War Relief Campaign then in progress.

to the whole world. The war has acted as a magnifying glass, intensifying the suffering in some places ten or a hundred fold; so that now none, except the blind, can fail to see it. The underlying cause of Jewish misery is ever the same. It is now the same as it was before the war. And after the war is over, the misery will continue further, unless the conditions under which more than one half the Jews of the world live are radically changed. In order to end the misery an end must be put to injustice—an end to oppression, an end to denial of opportunity. The oppression and discrimination before and during the war was and is so extreme as to make one marvel that living has been possible at all. It was oppression and unjust discrimination which brought the great masses of Russian Jews to the verge of destitution, in which the commencement of the war found them and which plunged them into starvation when the war came. It was prejudice and unjust discrimination which exposed the Jews to the unnecessary hardships during the war of hostile treatment among their own countrymen.

But the war brings amidst its horrors at least one compensation to the whole world and particularly to the Jews. It forces the world to lay aside makeshifts; to seek ultimate truths; to deal with fundamentals. We long for peace; but we begin to see that neither international congresses and courts, nor disarmament can secure peace. Peace can exist only in a world where justice and good will reign. Justice and good will involve not merely toleration of differences, but the grant of full rights, despite differences. There must be justice and good will not only between individuals, but between different peoples. All peoples must have equal rights.

In the past it has been generally assumed that the full development of one people necessarily involved its domination over others. Strong nationalities are apt to become convinced that by such domination only, does civilization advance. Strong nationalities assume their own superiority, and come to believe that they possess the divine right to subject other peoples to their sway. Soon the belief in the existence of such a right becomes converted into a conviction that a duty exists to enforce it. Wars of aggrandizement follow as a natural result of this belief.

This attitude of certain nationalities is the exact correlative of the position which was generally assumed by the strong in respect to other individuals before democracy became a common possession. The struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in peace and in war were devoted largely to overcoming that position as to individuals. In establishing the equal right of every person to development, it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation. Each man may develop himself so far, but only so far, as his doing so will not interfere with the exercise of the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right by every other of our fellow-citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth century democracy. Liberty thus defined exists in a large part of the western world. And even where this equal right of each individual has not yet been accepted as a political right, its ethical claim is gaining recognition. Democracy rejected the

proposal of the superman who should rise through sacrifice of the many. It insists that the full development of each individual is not only a right, but a duty to society; and that our best hope for civilization lies not in uniformity, but in wise differentiation.

The movements of the last century have proved that whole peoples have individuality no less marked than that of the single person; that the individuality of a people is irrepressible and that the misnamed internationalism which seeks the obliteration of nationalities or peoples is unattainable. The new nationalism proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has a right and duty to develop, and that only through such differentiated development will high civilization be attained. Not until these principles of nationalism, like those of democracy, are generally accepted, will liberty be fully attained, and minorities be secured in their rights. But there is ground for hope that the establishment of these principles will come as one of the compensations of the present war; and with it, the solution of the Jewish Problem.

For the war is awakening the more fortunately situated Jews from their torpor. It is bringing them to the realization of fundamental truths which a sorrowful past had obscured. Living in various lands as minorities during the eighteen centuries of dispersion; whirled like human flotsam sometimes by eddies away from the main stream, sometimes helplessly down the rapids, Jews had too often come to regard their misery as inevitable, and themselves as individuals merely. Those individuals to whom good fortune came, rejoiced, and the others, habit-

uated to sorrow, were prone to bear philosophically evils which through long persistence had come to be looked upon as unavoidable.

The World War has brought their monstrous condition into clear relief. Intense suffering came; but with it, hope and courage. The awakening brings also recognition that the rights of the Jewish people can be gained only by traveling the same road which other peoples travel—the road of democracy—through the people's asserting their own authority in their own interest. The demand for democracy in the consideration of the Jewish problem is not a matter of form. It is of the essence. It is a fundamental Jewish conception, as it is the basic American method. It rests upon the essential trust in the moral instincts of the people; potent to create their own well-being; to perfect it; and to maintain it, if an opportunity is given.

Among Theodor Herzl's contributions to our understanding of the Jewish problem are these:

First: The recognition of the fundamental fact that the Jews are a people—one people.

Second: The recognition of the political truth that the emancipation of the Jews can come only through themselves; that is, by democratic means.

That the Jews are a people was a well-known fact long before Herzl's time; but it had been submerged by the multiform individual struggle for Jewish existence. That emancipation could come only through the Jews themselves had also been clearly stated before Herzl's time; but it was Herzl who made clear the essential democratic means when he called the first Congress.

It is eight months since the movement for an Ameri-

can Jewish Congress was actively organized. To some it seems that the movement has proceeded slowly. But when we consider the obstacles which had to be overcome, the progress must be deemed rapid. The time spent in discussion—which some have called controversy—was time well spent. Discussion has educated the Jews of America. It has taught them the need, the character and the purpose of the Congress. Week by week, as this process of education was continued, opposition yielded ever more to reasoning, and former opponents declared their adhesion to the Congress idea.

In the eight months since the Congress Organization Committee was formed practically all save one of the important national Jewish organizations have declared their approval of holding a Congress; and in 72 cities general committees have been formed in which for the first time in the history of America, the many local Jewish organizations have combined with a view to the solution of the Jewish problem. There are still differences of opinion as to the powers which the Congress shall exercise when it convenes—and as to the time and manner of assembling. But the fundamental idea has passed beyond the stage of controversy. It is accepted by the Jews of America.

To estimate truly how great is this achievement, we must bear in mind that it is only eighteen years since delegates, representing Jews from all parts of the world, gathered together in an open Congress to discuss the Jewish Problem. That was at the Basel Congress of 1897, called under the inspiration of Theodor Herzl. For centuries Jews had been forced by circumstances to abandon their own traditions of democracy inherited from

their fathers and expressed in the Hebrew Commonwealth, and to seek protection not through the methods of free and open discussion, and the development of public opinion, but by secret and indirect means through the efforts of individuals who had or were supposed to have influence. When one considers the tremendous force of long continued habit and the tendency of oppression to breed methods of indirection, it is easy to understand the misgivings even of able and public-spirited men and women, who long opposed the Congress because they feared to have discussed in public the Jewish Problem, which had heretofore been discussed only in private. The opposition of conservative minded men, accustomed to the caution which heavy responsibility ordinarily entails, was natural. Patient consideration of the objections was appropriate. But it was also clear that if America can aid materially in the attainment of Jewish rights, it will be only through those forces which an open Congress can mobilize.

Absence of discord does not imply unity. Absence of discord may be due to indifference. Unity implies interest and participation. There may be acquiescence in the decision of a self-constituted body purporting to act on behalf of a free people. But there cannot be unity of action of a free people unless the decision is the act of that people participating through its properly constituted representatives.

What is demanded of the Jewish people is action, not acquiescence. We must seek to put an end to those conditions which through the centuries, and not merely during this war, have brought misery and suffering to the Jews. The position of the Jew is not entirely unique.

The history of the Bohemians, the Poles, and several other Slavic races, provides remarkable parallels, and among all these nationalities hopes are now high that in the peace that will follow the war their elemental wrongs will be righted. We have not made less, but more sacrifices than they have, and are justified in expecting that our elemental wrongs, too, will be righted. But we must be first in making our wrongs known, and be ready to take action which will be the result of our careful deliberation and a thorough understanding of the situation.

We can do this only if the Jews of America will that those conditions shall end; and undertake to express that will through action. What this action shall be involves decisions which are both difficult and serious; decision on which reasonable men will necessarily differ. The Jews are a people of thinkers; and they have a passion for freedom. If we acquiesce in decisions made for us and not by us, it can only be because we are practically indifferent; because we do not care, or at all events, do not care enough to assert our views, we certainly shall not care enough to make the sacrifices necessarily involved in saving our brethren, and solving the problem of the Jewish people.

There are a large number of Jews in America who are not indifferent to the suffering of their brethren abroad, or to the injustice to which these are subjected. There are a large number of Jews in America who are eager that something should be done to remove the causes of their brethren's misery. These Americans have views differing widely from one another as to what can be done, and what ought to be done, and how it should be done. They ask to be heard on these questions through their duly

constituted representatives; and they ask also to hear the views of others in order that the different proposals may be subjected to the test of public criticism. They deem it necessary that in view of the grave and difficult problems involved, the minds not of a few, but of many, should be turned towards their solution. It is for these reasons, among others, that they have demanded a Congress, and have demanded that it be convened on a democratic basis, and that the proceedings shall be made public. The deliberations of such a Congress would be enriched by the public discussion from others who are not delegates to it. And the Congress itself will create needed public opinion in support of the measures which it determines upon.

But the Congress is essential also for other reasons. Besides those Jews who have already given evidence of their readiness to aid in remedying the condition of their brethren, there are many in America whom the present need of action has failed to rouse. They are indifferent largely through lack of knowledge. We have such faith in our people as to believe that, with most of them, knowledge will overcome indifference and will lead to active participation in the effort to solve our people's problem. We must bring home the situation to those seemingly indifferent and make clear to them, not merely the intensity of existing suffering, but also that they can play a part in ending it, and indeed that they must do their part or we cannot succeed. And for the awakening of interest the Congress is a necessary means.

The Congress is not an end in itself. It is an incident of the organization of the Jewish people—an instrument

through which their will may be ascertained, and when ascertained, may be carried out. In order that their will may be ascertained truly the Congress must be democratically representative. In order that their will may be carried into effect, the decision of their delegates must be supported by Jewish public opinion, intelligent, widespread, and expressive of deep conviction. In order that the decision may be the wisest possible, the Congress must be preceded by general public discussion of the measures proposed. The decision must embody the wisdom, not of the few, however able and public-spirited, but the thought and judgment of the whole people. The support must be active; it must be financial as well as moral. It must be the support of the million, not of the few generous, philanthropic millionaires. In order that the support may be adequate, the Congress must also be preceded by such organization of the Jews of America as will ensure their cooperation in carrying out such measures as shall be decided upon. The Congress is not to be an exalted mass-meeting. It is to be the effective instrument of organized Jewry of America.

It cannot be effective if its functions are limited to the passing of resolutions, however carefully framed. Those whom the Congress authorizes to act for the Jewish people must have the actual support of the Jews of America. They must not only be prepared to act, but must be supplied with the means to do so.

First: The Congress, by creating spokesmen for American Israel who are representative, will provide a body through which the Jews of America, as the only great neutral group of Jews, may not only authoritatively address

other Governments, but may be so addressed by other Governments desirous of dealing with representatives of the whole Jewish people.

Second: Our demands may not be extravagant. Even the language used must be temperate. But the Jews can properly ask that throughout Europe, Asia and Africa their rights be acknowledged. The Congress will have to work out those basic ideas according to two fixed democratic principles. It should recognize the conception of needs as experienced by the Jews in the various lands in which they live, and the political circumstances in which great groups of Jews find themselves at the end of the war. It must, of course, recognize and act according to what it may find to be in accord with the general will and the feasible program. But the Congress must go a great step further. Mere protest or manifesto will bring no achievement. The Congress will elect men to be its spokesmen—men who will accept its mandate. But these men must be supplied with more than authorization. The Congress must create the machinery which will assure that what these spokesmen promise will be fulfilled, and that whatever gains the treaty of peace may exhibit will be maintained by the united effort of the Jews.

How much we have to do in order to realize the seriousness of this latter task, we may learn from our experience with the Roumanian Jewish Tolerance Clause in the Berlin Treaty of 1878, which had been so eagerly worked for, and was so widely rejoiced over. It would have been infinitely better if that provision for equality for the Jews in Roumania, had not been written; because the

scorn with which Roumania treated it exposed the helplessness of the Jews to the world. Had the machinery of the organized Jews existed, Roumania would have been compelled to keep her word. Through the Congress we must secure that power in men, in ability, in influence and in money necessary to maintain any gains that may be made.

Third: The Congress will have the further effect of creating unity in American Jewry, without which achievement abroad is impossible. Unity will develop because the minority will cooperate with the majority to attain the common end when the judgment and will of the majority has been democratically ascertained. That is in accordance with American methods and the demands of loyalty. The impotence of three million Jews of America to aid their brethren abroad should not surprise us. With over ten thousand separate Jewish organizations, each formed for a limited purpose and serving its individual policies, there has been no effective cooperation on the large problem of Jewish life. The organizations largely overlapped one another, and inevitably clashed when broader problems were involved. And no means existed of composing the discord. There could be no effective cooperation because there was no coordination. The Congress, in developing the practice of unity through the yielding of the minority to the will of the majority, cannot fail to immensely simplify, develop and strengthen the forces in American Jewish life.

Dr. Nordau said sometime ago that the Jews are a "miracle people," meaning by that that they expected re-

sults like freedom to be obtained without the resort to the means by which results would naturally be secured. It is indeed extraordinary that the Jews should entertain such an idea. For there is no people in the world, in which the individual members are more conscious of the fact that success is the result of persistent effort. No Jew expects any results for himself by miracle. He expects to work for them, and the Jew so frequently obtains results because he does work for them. It is the persistence of the individual Jew; his willingness to exert himself; to forego pleasure and to undergo pain, to brave dangers, and submit to sacrifice, that wins his individual successes. But when the Jews have sought results for the whole people, they seem to have forgotten the lessons of every-day life. They have lacked the statesmanlike quality which should bring them together; each saying: "I as one of the people will join with each and every other member of my people to attain the end in which the whole people is interested, and as such I will make the necessary sacrifices so that our great end may be achieved."

What we need, therefore, is that the Jews individually shall, for the common cause of the Jewish people, be ready to make sacrifices like those which they are always making in order to attain their individual successes. When Jews are ready to do that the three million Jews of America with their high intelligence and strong will cannot fail to have a great effect in ameliorating the condition of their brethren in other lands. Patience may be necessary as well as persistence. But patience, persistence and devotion, will accomplish sooner or later in one way or another, the great end we have in view. The purpose of our deliberation, when we come together in confer-

ence and in Congress, must be to discover the best way to proceed in order soonest to attain that end. But it will never be attained unless the individual Jew is willing to make such sacrifices in time, in effort, and in money.

The great Jewish inheritance and the great American inheritance demand that each and every one should specially pledge himself to work for that end.

In honor of his birthday an album with approximately ten thousand signatures gathered in all parts of the United States was presented to Brandeis, and a purse was placed at his disposal for Zionist purposes. Preceding the signatures in the album is the following testimonial:

"To Louis Dembitz Brandeis on his Sixtieth Birthday, November thirteenth, Nineteen Hundred and Sixteen.

"Imbued to the heart with American and Jewish ideals, indefatigable worker in translating them into action—a

"Testimonial of Gratitude for his services to the Jewish People and a tribute of Love and Loyalty to Our Leader."

ACKNOWLEDGING A TESTIMONIAL

The few years which cover my real activity in Zionist affairs have been rich in their gifts to me. They brought me understanding and happiness. This meeting is in line with what I have before experienced. I might also say, in line with what I have always experienced while working with others in the Zionist Cause. For my experience belies what I had been told, before I entered the ranks. I had been told of endless dissensions among Jews; I had been told of their unwillingness to work together, of the impossibility of uniting them for a common cause. But in the whole period during which I presided in the

Provisional Committee, I never had occasion to complain of lack of loyalty to the cause, to the work which I was endeavoring to further or to myself.

The last seven weeks which have separated me from that daily participation in the work of the Zionists, has not left me without knowledge of what is occurring. Conferences with Jacob de Haas,—who was active originally in bringing me into the Cause and upon whose wisdom and devotion and experience I have relied so much, and daily reports from the office have kept me in touch with what is going on. There may be many details which I do not know with that accuracy with which I knew them when I was at the Zionist office every week and had Zionist conferences every day. But I do feel, in a general way, fully advised; and the aloofness of those seven weeks, the distance incident to residence in Washington may perhaps enable me to see with greater clearness our opportunities, our necessities, and our dangers.

I feel more than ever, that the opportunities are very great, greater than at any time in eighteen centuries. The world is with us—that is, the non-Jewish world. Whether the Jewish world will be with us will depend very largely upon the Zionists themselves. But the responsibility for success or failure will rest, not upon anti-Zionists or non-Zionists. It will rest upon ourselves. The loyalty, the wisdom, the virtues of the relatively few who have declared their conviction of the truth of Zionism will determine whether the future shall bring success or failure.

IV. REORGANIZATION OF WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

The London Zionist Conference began July 7 and terminated July 22, 1920. Brandeis presided at a number of the earlier, and at the closing session. On the first day he delivered this address.

THE UPBUILDING OF PALESTINE

A great opportunity has come to the Jewish people. We, its representatives, are gathered here to consider and to determine how that opportunity may be best availed of. The work of the great Herzl was completed at San Remo.[1] The effort to acquire the public recognition of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine, for which he lived and died, has been crowned with success. The nations of the world have made that recognition. They have done all that they could do. The rest lies with us. The task before us is the Jewish settlement of Palestine. It is the task of reconstruction. We must approve the plans on which the reconstruction shall proceed. We must create the executive and administrative machinery adapted to the work before us. We must select men of the training, the experience and the character fitted to conduct that work. And finally we must devise ways and means to raise the huge sums which the undertaking demands. For without these funds, the best of plans, perfect machinery, the most capable of devoted men, will avail us

[1] The reference to Herzl is characteristic of the views Brandeis enunciated privately and publicly in Europe in 1919 and 1920.

naught and the noble purpose which we have set ourselves would be defeated.

The task is heavy. The problems are many. The difficulties are serious. But the problem can be solved, the difficulties can be overcome. And they will be. Of this we have assurance in notable achievements, wrought by determination and self-sacrifice throughout the long centuries of adversity. This new task will be different. Though the burden is heavy it will be joyously borne. For we shall be buoyed up by the spiritual appeal and the irresistible beauty of Palestine. We shall toil on confident and with the eager impulse for justice for all. There will be developed a new Jewish civilization worthy of the Jewish past, worthy of the aspirations for the future. And from the old Home, restored in fulfillment of prayers and of striving, there will go out again to the world in all its troubles the light for which nations will bless Israel again. Now is the time for action, for service, and for sacrifice,—service and sacrifice directed by understanding. In that service and sacrifice every Jew must be made to bear his part. Let us proceed; for the time is urgent.

REVIEW OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE

From the summer of 1916 till his attendance at the London Zionist conference in 1920 Brandeis while he continued to hold office in the American organization as Honorary President, delivered no public address. He attended among other gatherings the Zionist Conventions at Baltimore, 1917, Pittsburgh, 1918, and Chicago, 1919, and though he participated in committee work and even informally reported on his tour of Palestine in 1919,

he delivered no formal addresses. At the head of a large American delegation he participated in the World Zionist Conference convened in London in 1920. The problems that then confronted the movement related largely to the attempt to change the conduct of Zionist affairs from a war to a peace basis, and more circumstantially to take advantage of the political opportunities created by the decisions of the Versailles Peace Conference, and of the San Remo Conference which awarded the Mandate for Palestine to England. The chief political support for the cause as well as almost all of the money expended in Palestine had come from America. The immediate practical outlook of the movement as viewed in London was bad,—lack of means, a wavering policy in Palestine where a Zionist Commission, several times altered in personnel after its institution in 1918 functioned, and a dearth of capable men willing to assume responsibility for the practical development of Palestine. The European leaders had devised only one plan, and of its success they were at the moment in great doubt, the raising of money by means of the establishment of the Keren Hayesod, or Foundation Fund. Appealed to immediately on his arrival in London to give counsel Brandeis evolved a new policy. A breach of faith on the part of Dr. Weizmann led to the rejection of the Brandeis plan by the conference. The circumstance of the presentation of his plan is told in the speech Brandeis made at the meeting of the National Executive Committee in New York on August 29, 1920, immediately upon his return from Europe.

The London Conference was not only a planless affair. It was not even a conference properly so-called. It denied opportunity for arriving at the two things necessary for any intelligent effort to realize on the present Zionist opportunity: first, a knowledge of the facts as to the Zionist possibilities in the various countries, and

second, a knowledge, on the part of the Europeans, as to the possibilities and essentials of American aid. Long speeches were made which had no relation to the business in hand. The large number of the delegates alone made a real conference impossible. At the special request of Dr. Weizmann I consented to preside, because he urged that only by so doing would fruitless debates be avoided, and urgent business before us be given the requisite attention. On the evening of the first day, however, Dr. Weizmann concluded that a debate concerning past transactions could not be prevented. He requested that opportunity therefor be given. The ground thus lost was never recovered.

As to the essential needs, Dr. Weizmann and I conferred immediately upon my arrival in London—that was a fortnight before the opening of the Conference. We agreed that the San Remo decision and Sir Herbert Samuel's appointment had created a new era; that the need of Palestine was now its upbuilding; and that to this end participation of all Jews and efficient business management were essentials. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow agreed with me that it would be highly desirable to bring about complete cooperation with Baron Edmond de Rothschild; and that in order to effect this, James de Rothschild should be invited to join us in forming a small Executive to which large power would be given. Mr. de Rothschild, upon conference with Baron Edmond, declined to serve unless the proposed Committee were enlarged and included other leading Jews of England and other countries. Then, in the effort to devise some acceptable plan for carrying out the conclusions reached by Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Sokolow and myself, I conferred

at their request further, from time to time, with the Baron and with Lord Reading, the Lord Chief Justice. The draft for a plan for such a larger committee was agreed upon between Lord Reading and myself, in reasonable detail. It provided, among other things, for bringing into the Executive able and distinguished Jews who had not heretofore been connected with the Zionist Organization. While these negotiations were in progress, Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Sokolow, Mr. Simon and Mr. Naiditch laid before me in private conferences, their views for an alternative plan. It seemed to me—and I pointed out to them—that their plan would not meet the needs of the movement because it did not meet the essentials of an adequate plan, which were:

First: Zionist work in the Diaspora must be greatly strengthened. Even America, including Canada, had done only a small part of what might be expected of it. Other countries had done far less than what might be expected in view of their special circumstances. This was particularly true of Great Britain where the opportunities for securing support were very great.

Second: The Zionist Commission, as a commission, must be discontinued. It had been rendered unnecessary by the San Remo decision and the appointment of the present High Commissioner. It had become a center of political discussion which hindered practical progress.

Third: An efficient administration must be constituted which would operate on the principle that only by spending wisely the money obtained could more money be raised. Experts must be secured for all practical work in hand; and good propagandists were not as a rule efficient business administrators. But it was essential also

that the management should include men whose abilities and experience were widely known and whose participation would be an assurance to all Jews that the work of upbuilding Palestine would be effectively carried out; that to this end men hitherto unconnected with the Organization must be brought into the management by the Zionist Organization; that they should be charged *as its officials* with the heavy responsibilities involved; and that the management must be given broad powers.

Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Sokolow, Mr. Simon and Mr. Naiditch expressed thereupon complete agreement with these views and they asked me to lay them before the general conference. This I declined to do directly; but I consented to set forth my views to a committee of the general conference after laying them before the American Delegation. The American Delegation accepted the plan. But although the plan left to the *Actions Comité* the whole work in the Diaspora, it was opposed by many members of the *Senioren Convent*[1] on the ground that it would involve entrusting, in large part, to non-Zionists every important work in Palestine. During the course of the debate, Dr. Weizmann, notwithstanding that I had devised the plan in agreement with him and others, without notice to me opposed the project I had outlined. That same evening without intimating to me his change of policy Dr. Weizmann arranged a conference with Sir Alfred Mond and some members of the *Senioren Convent*. At this gathering they evolved an entirely different plan which provided, among other things, for an economic committee to deal with specific questions. This substitute I considered entirely inadequate.

[1] "Steering Committee."

In view of the course which events had taken, I concluded that I could not possibly accept a position of responsibility to the World Organization similar to that which I had theretofore held in the American Organization as Honorary President, and that I must decline the position of Honorary President of the World Organization. Later, in deference to the view of the East European Delegates who maintained that the withdrawal of my name would have serious implications among the Jews of East Europe, I concluded, if sanctioned by the American Delegation, to permit the use of my name as Honorary President, but only on condition that America should take no active part in the World Executive. The reason why I insisted upon this condition was that if any American entered the World Executive, the inference would then necessarily be made that my relations to the World Organization were the same as they have been to the American Organization. The question whether I should consent to become Honorary President on this condition was then submitted to the American Delegation. The great majority agreed that my position was in accord with the best interests of the cause. All except four of the American delegates voted in favor of my so doing on the conditions named. Two voted against this proposal. Two others stated that they favored the proposal only because they deemed it essential that I become Honorary President but were not in sympathy with the condition imposed. I, therefore, declined to become Honorary President of the World Organization.

Knowledge obtained in London immediately after the close of the Conference, as to the conduct of the World Organization affairs during the past year, confirmed the

wisdom of this decision. It was then discovered that the expense of the delegates from the Continent and Palestine, in attendance at the Conference, aggregating £8,000, had been paid by the London Office. It was also discovered that between last fall and about the time of the Conference, there had been in Palestine an unauthorized expenditure of over £50,000, which had been improperly taken from amounts transmitted by the American Organization for specific purposes and institutions. The pressing business of the weeks after the Conference was to devise means for securing repayment of at least a part of these misappropriated funds.

At the first meeting held with the Greater *Actions Comité* held on June 23rd, a fortnight before the Conference, it had been made clear to those present that the American Organization could not raise even as much money as it had been raising, unless there was a complete change, both in London and in Palestine, in the manner in which the Organization's affairs were conducted. Later, this subject was further discussed on many occasions. After the close of the Conference, at the final meeting of the American Delegation it was voted unanimously that the obligations of the American Organization should, subject to later action by the National Executive, be as follows:

First: All existing indebtedness to the World Zionist Organization will be paid, and in addition $75,000 for the month of July.

Second: Beginning August 1st, the budget of the Medical Unit of $35,000 per month will be assumed by the American Organization with the aid of the Joint Distribution Committee.

Third: In addition, the American Organization will pay the International Organization $40,000 in August and $40,000 in September, these amounts to be deemed payments on account of, and in advance of, shekel receipts accruing after the New Year.

This arrangement was later submitted to the new Executive of the World Organization, in writing, and was assented to, in writing, and payments have been made thereunder.

As to Palestine: Our immediate aim must be to make it possible for the people there to support themselves through agricultural colonization (which unfortunately is rather expensive); through the development of the water resources—that is, hydro-electric power, irrigation, drainage, etc.; and through afforestation, of which the country is in great need. Development on these lines would provide not only the necessary condition for upbuilding Palestine, but would open opportunities for industry and commerce; and would thus quickly absorb the labor of immigrants. The greatest immediate need is that Palestinians shall have work and stop being stipendiaries.

REORGANIZATION PLAN

The plan for reorganizing the World Zionist Organization to which allusion was made in the foregoing address was outlined in detail in the following statement made to the American Delegation July 14, 1920.

The opportunity for which we have been struggling has come. We have the opportunity of developing a Homeland, but nothing more than an opportunity. It is urgent

that we enter upon the work, urgent because Great Britain and the other Governments expect it and require it, in order that we may establish our position in the Homeland. And the Jews, particularly the hundreds of thousands who are looking forward to relieving their present misery by going to Palestine, demand it. We must therefore act, and act quickly. And yet everyone of you knows perfectly well that we are not adequately equipped in men, money or machinery to undertake that task.

So far as money goes, America, including of course Canada, has in the last two and one-half years contributed the money with which Palestine has been kept going. But we have not done anything else. All that we have done practically in this time is to pay the living expenses of the administration. And we have done it with very great difficulty. Except as through the Medical Unit we have made life a little more possible, we have not advanced a step towards developing the Homeland. And yet it is in the series of steps beyond keeping Palestine as it has been that our problem lies.

Hereafter, it will be of little value to us to keep things as they are. It was of value to keep things as they were prior to the issue of the mandate and the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel. Now we have an entirely different task. How are we going to perform it? That is the problem, and a most serious problem it is. How many of you have been considering how we may create the machinery, and how we may obtain the men for doing this work? As we have reached a new era, we ought to consider the matter somewhat more broadly, see what the work is that is to be done now, and recognize by our whole proceeding what we must do in view of the new era.

In the first place, what is the work? There has been a tremendous amount of talk in the past, and properly, of the political question, of political Zionism. The political question will be important hereafter, but to my mind practically the whole of politics lies in proceeding efficiently in the building up of Palestine. That is the only political act, to my mind, which can effectively produce the result and make of our opportunity success instead of failure. Politics as such may now be banished; certainly politics may go into suspense. There is nothing that can be accomplished to my mind from this time on by an ingenious political action, however great our diplomats and however wise the individual may be in his thought of manipulating this portion of the population or that, or this official or that.

We have come to the time when there are no politics that are valuable except the politics of action. We must be in a position to act in Palestine, and we have to be strong outside of Palestine. And it is not a strength which will come through any individual or the wisdom of any individual or the position of any individual. The strength must come through the strength of Jews organized together in large part in the Zionist Organization. Now, therefore, when we consider how we are going to make an efficient organization and accomplish our results, we have to see what the work is that is to be done. To my mind the work in the different countries of the Diaspora is no less important than the work in Palestine. Without that which will be done in the several countries, in the Federations of the several countries, our task is impossible of accomplishment.

Monies must be given in several forms. A great deal

will come by way of investment, and by way of quasi-investment. But it is absolutely necessary that a large part of the money which is going to develop Palestine is to come in the form of gifts from Jews throughout the world. There is no such thing as investment, in a proper sense of that term, unless there is either security or the prospect of a large return, which is the alternative in the investor's mind for security. You may run a risk if you have the prospect of a large return. That is good business, and it is not gambling. But if you have no prospect of a large return, you must have security or the approximation of security. On account of the nature and condition of the country there cannot be security in Palestine unless there is a margin created by the gifts of Jews throughout the world. And that is true for several reasons.

The first is that, unlike the land in other countries requiring development, the land in Palestine is not free. On the contrary, it is very expensive. The present price of the land in Palestine is, considered on a basis of producing power, far more than land of the same character in the world market anywhere else. And the land is in one way largely exhausted. The trees had been cut off from the land, and so there was produced the condition of swamps and consequent malaria. There must therefore be expended upon the land a very large amount of money before it can become properly productive. In other words we have to expend money to convert the raw material of land into real productive land. We also have to build up the men who are going to use that land, because they are ignorant of agriculture and of the ways of the country, and they have to be educated.

Those are expenses that have to be borne in the first instance. In my opinion those expenses can ultimately become remunerative. The land can pay a return upon what we spend on it, and the country can pay a fair return in the sense of giving a living to those who go there. But there is no short cut in Palestine to earning a living. It is difficult to earn a living. It is more difficult in my opinion to earn a living in Palestine than it is in a large part of the world which is open to Jews. Therefore no investors can expect either security or a large return on a fairly conducted business unless there are done by us certain things which a state might do if it were ready, if it had great resources. This the state—Palestine—is not ready to do. It has not the resources. And it has an appreciable debt resting upon it which the land must return. Therefore, to do the things we want done, we have to raise a very considerable amount. And we have to raise men to go with the money; men who will administer the moneys that we send there. That can be done only by an immense development of the work in the several countries of the Diaspora, America of course included.

Insufficient as our work in America may have been, I think we can say that there are other countries in which it has been worse. And I think that attention cannot be too much directed to the fact that we cannot succeed in our attempt unless we have cooperation from all of these countries, notably Great Britain, where the prospects of successful work are even better than in America. Because British Jewry is a part of the mandatory; and it will feel, in a way, what Americans do not feel, an obligation and pride and a sense of loyalty to England as well as

of loyalty to the Jew, in the performance of the Palestine work.

I believe that any organization that we are to create now must recognize that the World Organization is in one way at least no more important than the Great Hinterland. The Hinterland is to be the great reservoir of money and of men, and must therefore be developed in every part. That, I think is the first proposition; that we Americans must develop our organization at home and our strength at home, and we must govern our action with that constantly in view. But at the same time we must insist that all other countries, beginning with Great Britain and the British Dominions, must, to the very utmost of their ability, develop their possibilities—possibilities which I consider even more favorable, numbers and position considered, than our own in America.

Now what is the work in Palestine? The work in Palestine consists of two parts: One is in doing the things we are doing now; and the other is in doing the things we are not doing now. A part of the things we are doing now I think ought to end—that is, the political work in Palestine. In the creation of the mandate, and particularly followed by the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel, a man of eminent fairness and sound sense, true to the Jewish cause as well as the British cause, and to the justice for which Great Britain stands, in Sir Herbert Samuel we have reached a culmination of the political question and of the political accomplishment so far as the present is concerned. Every other bit of politics is a mere incident to our work. We shall have, of course, questions coming up with Arabs and with others. But the proper medium through which these questions should be solved will be

the mandatory government, with its Advisory Council, on which Zionists and other Jews will have representation.

If questions come up of alleged discrimination, or if there is fear that it may develop; if any of these matters come up so far as Palestine is concerned, the proper avenue through which they are to be settled is in my opinion not the Zionist Commission, but the Advisory Council and the High Commissioner himself. It is they who should bring these questions before the mandatory power and its various officials in precisely the same way in which Jews and citizens elsewhere may bring their questions before any fair, free Government of which they are subjects or citizens. That to my mind would eliminate the great need of a Zionist Commission which has existed up to the time of the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel. Things have entirely changed in my opinion. We, who had to be strong—I mean strong in the sense of having a Government within the occupied territory, a Government of our own in a certain sense, represented by the Zionist Commission—have now come into a position where our future can, in my opinion, only be jeopardized by the existence of the Commission. Not intermediary but direct should be the relations between the Jews of Palestine and the Administration of Palestine. If the Zionist Commission is to stand as the target and to a certain extent the arbiter among Jews—then this super-political life which has developed among the Jews of Palestine will continue to absorb and divert their energies and the energies of Zionist leaders. If the Zionist Commission is to continue as the center of political contest, instead of leaving the Jews of Palestine to work out for themselves their relations with the admin-

istration, we shall thus be creating, not only a Government of our own where there is a civil Government; we shall be undertaking to create a Government within a Government sure to lead to friction, to misunderstandings; sure to put us in opposition to, rather than in harmony and cooperation with, the mandatory and with the other elements of the population.

After we have eliminated the Commission in the sense of eliminating that avenue through which would go the various sections in Palestine seeking relief from their grievances actual or imaginary—when we have done that —we shall have, at least, set forward on a straight path to our success, as far as it consists in removing obstacles. Men whose activities and whose thoughts have been devoted to the Zionist Commission, may then direct their time and their attention to participation under proper conditions in the mandatory's government. If Jews are as efficient—if they have the superiority which they believe they have and particularly others believe Jews have—they ought to find their place in the public service of the Mandatory, Great Britain; that is where they ought to show themselves—that is where they ought to develop their abilities as Jews and as people able to govern themselves. We may be sure under present circumstances that we shall be judged fairly and we ought not to ask more than to be judged fairly in competition with others in performance of the public services of administration in Palestine.

Then, if there is no Commission in Palestine, what should there be? To my mind there should be heads of bureaus—men who are charged with the performance of defined obligations in Departments of Government

service. That we should have. What bureaus should there be? How many should there be? I do not think we are in a position to determine that absolutely now. We know some that will be in the mind of each Jew,—perhaps foremost, the Department of Education. There will necessarily be Departments of Colonization, of Agriculture, of Industry and of Labor; and there may be other departments. It is not necessary to go into that matter now.

But each one of these departments should be a department for the execution of public work, for the performance of public duties without politics. The only consideration which we are at liberty to regard is efficiency in that public service—not to pick men because of what they may have done in the past. The only proper test, that can be applied in respect to the filling of these offices is fitness and efficiency. The man who is best fitted to perform a particular task must be selected. To my mind it is an insult to a devoted Zionist to appoint him to office only because of services which he has performed in the past. It is an insult to the intelligence, to the high-mindedness of the Jew—the Zionist Jew—to consider, in filling an office, whether a proposed incumbent needs or wants the compensation which comes from it. If there are men in Palestine or elsewhere who have served us well in the past and do absolutely need for their living certain means which they are not able to get by their own effort, the question properly arises whether we should create, either through private effort or through the Organization directly, a Pension Fund just as Governments and public bodies do. But I consider it no less than treason to our Cause knowingly to appoint any man to office for

any other reason than that he can with the greatest fitness fill that office. We have no right—and it would be folly—to appoint any man to any office in Palestine or elsewhere,—just as it would be, with the enemy at our gates in the most terrible of war times, to appoint a man general or colonel or captain,—because he was popular or because he was poor or because we love him. We have a problem so difficult, that unless we set that standard for ourselves there is, to my mind, no possibility of our solving it. And, of course, not only must we get the fittest men, but we must do with the least possible number. We must abolish every unnecessary office. We must make every man do every bit of work that it is possible for him to do. We must make men understand that every penny which they waste in any way, either by an unnecessary office or by a salary of more than is necessary, that just to that extent he is obstructing the work which lies before us. What we can do in Palestine depends wholly upon the amount of money we can raise and what men we can get to administer it.

Waste of money raised will not only deprive us of the amount wasted. It will cost us ten and twenty and one hundredfold the amount wasted through its deterrent effect on possible contributions and investments. Men are willing to give—men can be made willing to give —when they know that what they give, that whatever sacrifices they make, will result in some further approach to the end we have in mind. But every person who wastes a cent, whether it be in a cable, in a salary or in an unnecessary letter, is postponing directly or indirectly to perhaps a hundred times that extent, the achievement of our aim. More Jews ought to understand this. We

Jews have the intelligence to understand this. We must have character and high spirit enough to see that we may not allow our hearts and our love and our individual fancies or favors, to guide us in the selection of the men who are to serve our organization.

When you consider the inter-relation of the work to be done in the Federations in the various countries, and the specific character of the work to be done in Palestine, you will see how essential it is to have an entire rearrangement of activities. To my mind, a large part of the men who have in the past occupied themselves in international activities can best serve the cause by going to their homes, with the knowledge which they have acquired from international action and experience, and particularly a knowledge of the necessities of the Cause and the character of those necessities—by going to their own people and making them understand that, unless that work is done in the Hinterland, success in Palestine is impossible.—Make them understand the difficulties as well as the possibilities. Our undertaking is not a light thing. The time is past when jubilations are in order. There is a thing very different from jubilation before us now. Great sorrow will follow the jubilation unless our people, in the different countries as well as in Palestine, are made to understand the real situation; unless they are made to understand the difference between the unreal and the ideal. Zionism has given a new significance to the traditional Jewish duties of truth and knowledge as the basis of faith and practice.

As for the work in Palestine and the large number of people engaged in administrative work there: I am not of course criticizing their motives in any respect. They

performed very important things in the past which it is no longer necessary to perform. Unless our people recognize that the greatest public service they can perform in Palestine is to earn there an honest living and not be dependent upon the Organization, we shall not accomplish our work. The highest work that can be done for Palestine is to earn a living in Palestine; to put the Jewish mind and Jewish determination and Zionist idealism and enthusiasm into the problem of earning a living in Palestine; thus setting an example for others to earn a living. That is real patriotism. A young woman who was in Palestine some time ago said that to make a good soup in Palestine was a contribution to the cause. I agree with her. But it is not a contribution to have someone else make a soup for you. It is not a contribution to get paid for making plans for a good soup. What we have to do is to make it possible for men to earn a living in Palestine. That is a very difficult thing. It cannot be done by subsidizing people. It can be done only by the individual efforts of men actuated by the proper motives; guided in the proper ways.

Our organization can accomplish a few things to this end. In the first place, we can make it possible for people to work hard in Palestine. That is, we can overcome malaria. We cannot properly judge anybody's performance until we shall have done that. We cannot form an idea as to whether it is possible to make any of our colonies or any plantations that we propose to develop, safe as to earning capacity, unless we put people under conditions where they will work in health; be as healthy as they are in other countries, I mean. The task is wholly one of eliminating malaria. Because aside from malaria, the ordinary

conditions in the country are conducive to the greatest health. We can, without pauperizing people, give them health if they are willing to live according to the rules essential to health.

We can also give to those who have not yet accustomed themselves to the peculiarities of the country, a certain amount of education in agriculture. We can, for a certain period, let them have land practically free, not exacting interest or returns for a considerable period, during which time of this apprenticeship, while they are accommodating themselves to the new situation. But I do not believe we can go a bit further without creating a new Halukkah [1] which will be infinitely worse than the old. For the new Halukkah will not have the inspiration or justification of the old. It will be far more numerous; and it will submerge the whole country irremediably if we make a practice of subsidies. Therefore the thing that we must insist upon is that manhood and womanhood, as well as Zionism, demand that somehow or other all of our people shall earn a living. This cannot be done easily. It is a very difficult thing. And the difficulty cannot be overcome by any system of subvention. That is a fathomless abyss in which we should all be engulfed.

Our task is to bring into Palestine, as rapidly as we can, as many persons as we can. That really comprises the whole work before us. Of course we want to do it under conditions in which these persons may become self-supporting in a respectable way. And we want to do it under conditions in which those persons may attain what we know and what we believe to be, a proper social position for self-respecting men and women. That is a matter

[1] A religious dole system existing in Palestine.

of course, and there is no need to reiterate it. We have said it before and it might be assumed if we had never said it. We want to go forward and do those things which are necessary to be done. Among those things are the development of the water-power, irrigation and drainage. All of these things have to do with the Upper Jordan and the Northern parts. We shall develop an agricultural community on the lines that Dr. Weizmann has suggested. But the great immediate work that we have to do is to make men, as far as possible, economically independent. The extraordinary thing is that, whereas in almost every country that we know other than Palestine, Jews make something out of nothing, Jews, from the standpoint of traders and workers, have in Palestine failed to make anything out of the opportunities offered. We have poured into Palestine vast sums of money; and but little of it remains in the hands of Jews.

Recognizing as you do these two fields of work—Palestine and the Hinterland—what should be the character of our organization? I think it should be radically different from anything that has been.

How can we get people to believe that money put into Palestine will be well expended when they doubt it has been so expended in the past? If the men who have been at the head lack the special training and experience which enables one to conduct business enterprises, as distinguished from political enterprises, then we must get others. The conduct of business enterprises cannot be entrusted to a large body of men, however true they may have been to Zionism. We must have small executive committees. By small, I mean five, or six, or seven men. In them must be vested for an appreciable period—a

period long enough so that they may feel that they are not going to be quickly interfered with before results may work themselves out—the practical work of making Palestine a place in which men can earn a living. It is a very difficult task. But it has to be done. And it can be done only by men whose reputations will inspire investors and contributors with confidence that the money given to them will be properly expended, and that all favoritism is going to end. There must be no such thing possible as favoritism, if we are to succeed. There must be an end put to expenditures and appointments because of our adoration of the heroes of the past, if we are to succeed in this task. Our gratitude may be expressed by high honors. Recognition of services performed may not be given by appointment to office of the unfit. I repeat, the men who are to serve the Cause of the Jewish Homeland as members of the Executive Committee must have other qualities besides an understanding of the Jewish situation, of the Zionist situation in all the countries, an understanding of the Zionist past, an understanding of the struggle of the last six years by which political success has been established. They must have beyond all this, ability as financiers and business men. They must have financial reputation and standing. They must be men whose names will convince the Jewish world that the money entrusted to them will be properly expended.

Of whom the Executive Committee shall consist, I can state partly by specification, partly by description. As far as specification is concerned, I think two men must be on that small Executive Committee. They are Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow. I say this not on account

of our gratitude to them. For if we were considering matters of merely gratitude, if the selection were merely an expression of appreciation, these two men would stand in the same position as others who have, according to the best of their ability, served the Cause during the last twenty-five years. Their merits may be greater; but men are to be measured by what they attempt, not by what they have accomplished. It is the effort and not the act which determines the proper extent of our gratitude. When I say Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow must be on the small Executive Committee, it is not, therefore, because we owe them much. We have shown otherwise our admiration and recognition of that service. They must be on the Executive Committee for a different reason. In the first place, because the rest of the world knows them and the rest of the world looks to them, and primarily to Dr. Weizmann, who has been in more direct relations with the British Government, to carry out what he and they have represented would be done by the Jews. Because of that fact, as well as the fact that they know more intimately than any other person can, what has been promised, what the course of events has been during these six years, their selection is inevitable to my mind. Fortunately they have great ability. They have the confidence of a large part of the Jews of the world. And they know the Jews throughout the world as well as they are known by them.

For the other members of the Executive Committee we need men of business capacity, sincerely desirous of developing Palestine. Some of these men should undoubtedly be American Zionists. We must not put too much stress upon the past in determining the fitness of any man for

this job. The fact that a man wants to perform service in Palestine and is able to do it and is recognized as being able to do it, is to my mind the test to be applied; not what he has done in the past. From this time on, it should be immaterial, whether a man has been a Zionist in the past or whether he has never formerly been a Zionist, but has become an ardent Palestinian now. We ought to deem it a matter of the greatest satisfaction that a man who was not such in the past is ready now to associate himself with us. I think it one of the most fortunate things that has come to our organization in America, that a man like Bernard Flexner, with his high character, his reputation and ability and single-mindedness, has been willing to devote himself to our cause. It is only a year and a half since he became active in our work, and a very little longer since he became convinced that that action in our work is desirable. It is such men in England and elsewhere who are able to serve, and who have the confidence of the world, that we wish to reach. These are the kind of men whom we ought to have on the Executive Committee.

Even if the general plan that I have outlined meets with your approval and with the approval of other members of the Conference—it would, I recognize, be extremely difficult to select here the men who are to form the Executive Committee, and the men who should be the heads of the various bureaus in Palestine. The selection is a matter not only of extreme difficulty, but one which may invoke very great embarrassment. For some of the men whom we should want, being themselves really unknown to the members at large, would not be willing to have their merits canvassed here, and run the risk of

the criticism which a candidate might be subject to. A man who is a candidate must submit to criticism. Those who have the duty of selecting a candidate for an important office have also the duty of criticism. While it would in no way reflect upon our members that they might wish to criticize men proposed, you can see perfectly well that men of the kind we would like to have might not consent to be candidates. We do not know whether the men we have in mind would consent to undertake this heavy duty. At all events, such of them as are not members of the Zionist Organization would not want to put themselves in a position of being discussed before the Conference and perhaps defeated after they had consented that they be named for an office. I deem it therefore, as a practical matter, absolutely essential that the power of selecting the men to make up this Executive of seven, if such be the number, should be vested in a small number of the Zionists whom you trust, so that they may determine the qualifications of the persons to be suggested for the Executive Committee. The Conference should elect a committee consisting of three or four persons with power to select the seven members of the Executive Committee, who in turn should be vested with the power to select the heads of the bureaus, and, to a large extent, determine what bureaus should exist in Palestine and elsewhere.

The plan would thus confer upon the Executive Committee very great power. It is a power which, in my opinion, we must confer if we are to get results. We must confer it, because the task is one of very great difficulty; and the only way of having men do the thinking and the

executing is to put the burden on them fully. Put that responsibility upon them and say: "You have the obligation and you have the opportunity. We look to you for such and such a period." If there were men willing to accept the position without having full responsibility I should be opposed to accepting them. Because unless the full responsibility is imposed upon them, they cannot perform this task.

Only through some such plan as I have outlined may we hope to get the character of administration essential to carrying on our work. In the first place we must magnify to its proper extent the work in the several Federations. Secondly, we must reduce, in every possible way, the so-called governmental work that we have been doing in Palestine. Thirdly, we must build up there a peace administration that will stimulate agriculture, industry, business and private enterprise and eliminate the political activities which have occupied so large a part of the time, not only of our officials, but of the other people in Palestine. Fourthly, we must transfer most of our activities to Palestine and reduce the force in London. The London work should be limited to the development of the financial arrangements involved in the reorganization of the Jewish Colonial Trust and to such other work of coordination as will be required by the New Executive. And finally, we must put on our Executive Committee men who may be looked to to develop that great plan of rebuilding and the raising and the spending of the funds for the development of the Jewish Homeland.

THE ZEELAND MEMORANDUM

The aftermath of the London Conference of 1920 was thoroughly confusing. Brandeis met this situation by drafting on board the S. S. Zeeland, while returning to America on August 24, 1920, a memorandum of the policy he believed the Zionist Organization should adopt. This document was much discussed at the time in intimate Zionist circles. It became known as the "Zeeland Memorandum."

A. *The objective:* . . . To populate Palestine within a comparatively short time with a preponderating body of manly self-supporting Jews who will develop into a homogeneous people with high Jewish ideals; will develop and apply there the Jewish spiritual and intellectual ideals; and will ultimately become a self-governing commonwealth.

The present misery of the Jews elsewhere, together with their traditional longing for Palestine, makes possible the necessary immigration. The San Remo decision together with the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel provides the open door and adequate opportunity for the development to be striven for. The country is in character and location such as to permit of such settlement and development.

B. *The special difficulties:* So far as we have to deal with them now—arise from the conditions there prevailing which differ from those under which the colonization of other countries has been effected, namely:—

(a) The land on which the Jews must live and from which directly or indirectly they must earn their living, is

not *free* land. On the contrary,—it is land which must be bought.

(b) The land is (in the main) now in a condition which would prevent the individual, even if he owned it free, from gaining there a living by individual investment or effort. That is, he could not raise a crop upon it for lack of water or of drainage or because of malarial conditions. He could not build a house upon it, by felling of trees thereon or nearby. He could not utilize it as the site of a factory, for lack of power, there being neither wood, coal nor oil available. Certain indispensables to making a living thereon and therefrom, possible, must be supplied in some way by community action. Water, water power, health (i. e., elimination of malaria), drainage. These, beside roads, and the intellectual and spiritual needs of a Jewish population are indispensable to the development desired.

(c) The natural resources, so far as known, are meager and those resources have been in part exhausted and largely abused. What remains is the raw material out of which land and the instruments for utilizing the land may be made. For making the land and the instruments for its utilization, a large community investment is necessary. Ultimately that investment may be made financially remunerative by and to a thrifty, hardworking people. But between the making of the necessary outlay of capital, and the period when it can earn a financial return on the amount so expended, there must elapse a long time. This long time must elapse partly because the facilities provided must exist long before they can be fully utilized, partly because much time must elapse before the pio-

neers can bear reasonably heavy charges for use of the services so rendered. It is necessary therefore that the raw material called land and the services to be rendered by such public utilities shall be furnished under conditions which do not call for immediate return upon the investments made. In other colonies such investments, where indispensable, are made by the government, local or imperial, through loans secured primarily by the taxing power of the empire or the locality. We are denied this resort—(1) because we wish to control the concessions; (2) because England could not and would not lend its credit; and (3) Palestine could probably not, without unduly increasing the burden of taxation, provide for the same in any large degree by taxation.

(d) The present unremunerative character of these needed investments of capital is intensified by the present high cost of construction,—yet we cannot wait until prices fall. Their need is urgent. The expenditure must be made immediately like a war expenditure regardless of cost because speed in settlement is indispensable. For the same reason we cannot, as in the case of other colonial development, leave would-be settlers to work out the problems slowly and painfully through successive failures to ultimate success. We must succeed reasonably soon in effecting the settlement, partly because others will intervene; partly because our effort will be ever on general exhibition and subject to hostile criticism.

C. *How then shall the money be raised* for these general fundamental public utilities? It cannot be left wholly or largely to private enterprise, i. e., investment in the ordinary sense of the term,—because the capitalist would

not, with other investment opportunities at hand, incur the risk without the prospect of corresponding profit, and this, in view of the present money conditions and cost of installation, does not exist at all or if it exists, could be effected only through exploitation contrary to the Pittsburgh Program. Independently of such program, such exploitation would not be tolerated. The only alternative appears to be for the Jews to raise the necessary funds and administer them. As the Jews of Palestine cannot provide any large part of these funds themselves, they must come from the Diaspora.

To buy the land, and to provide the utilities for making it productive directly or indirectly (including in time afforestation of land acquired and perhaps even harbor facilities) such large contributions from Jews of the Diaspora will, for the immediate future and for many years indeed, be indispensable. These contributions may properly take the form of investment in stock, like that in the Jewish Colonial Trust or the Zion Commonwealth, as in that form no obligation of paying a return would be incurred. But the contributions must not take the form of investment or bonds bearing interest—because interest cannot be earned for a long time to come and could be paid only from new contributions. We must not make any representations, expressed or implied, that any return by way of dividends may be expected soon on the stock to be issued. The obligation assumed must be limited to the assumption of the duty to expend the money wisely and efficiently, i. e., in a proper capital outlay in the best possible manner and with the greatest possible economy. If such an expenditure of the funds is made, the outlay will be a good investment. That is, one from

which the Jewish people, and eventually individual owners of the shares of stock also, may hope to receive a proper return.

Besides acquisition of land and the installation of recognized indispensable public utilities and afforestation, there is a wide field for contribution by Jews of the Diaspora of funds to be treated as capital investments.

(1) *Financial Institutions.* Credit for the development of land enterprises as well as industrial and commercial enterprises and municipal undertakings,—is not so clearly dependent upon community action—as furnishing credit for the installation of essential public utilities; but community, as distinguished from private, institutions for providing such credit will be of great service in furthering the development which is our objective. Such a community provision will lighten the necessary interest burden; it will tend to prevent discrimination in the grant of credit and better ensure its being granted for purposes subserving the desired development; and it will also tend to avert that hostility to capitalists which arises from the control by private individuals and concerns of the sources of credit. Included in the proper field for the granting of temporary credits are the consumers' and producers' cooperatives.

This in general is the service which the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Anglo-Palestine Company undertook to render, and have in part, rendered heretofore. They are unable to continue to render these services adequately now; partly, because their capital is inadequate; partly, because a large part of the existing capital is tied up in loans to the Zionist Organization or the Zionist Commis-

sion; partly, because it is tied up in real estate and real estate loans.

The working capital of the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Anglo-Palestine Company should be increased so as to enable them to supply the demand for short-time commercial and industrial loans. This must be done in part by the increase of capital issues;—in part by paying off the Zionist Organization and the Zionist Commission loans; and in part by disposing of the real estate and real estate loans. To these ends, there should be (a) A sale of new Jewish Colonial Trust and Anglo-Palestine shares of stock. (b) Cash funds should be raised to pay off the existing Zionist Organization and Zionist Commission indebtedness. (c) A land and mortgage bank should be created to purchase the immobile assets of the Anglo-Palestine Company and to make proper real estate loans in the future. The sale of shares in such land and mortgage bank, like the sales of shares in the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Anglo-Palestine Company, may properly absorb a large amount of money; and on such shares a dividend should be earned and a modest one paid from the start—the balance of earnings being used to build up a surplus.

(2) *There is pressing need in the towns,* in order that newcomers in commerce and industry may be housed, that very modest dwellings be constructed. This should be done on land acquired for the Jewish people. The cost of building such houses now is much greater than it probably will be a few years hence, owing to war inflation and primitive conditions of the country. If men are to be housed in buildings constructed under present conditions and must pay now and forever after rent sufficient to meet

interest and sinking fund charges, the rent will be prohibitively high. A part of the cost of necessary new buildings may properly be treated as a war expense because it is due to temporary conditions and it is proper that this extra expense be borne as such by the Jews of the Diaspora. In other words, the return on their investment may properly be less than a fair return on the whole sum expended if treated as an investment made today. There may properly be expected a very small return thereon, by way of a dividend on shares of stock, representing the cost of these urban dwellings so constructed. But it should be made clear in selling such stock that the houses so constructed will have to compete in renting later, with houses to be built under conditions when building will cost much less in pounds and when the cost of money, measured at the current rate of interest, will be much lower. The building investment may be compared with that now being made by the London County Council.

(3) *Educational facilities and research institutions.* These, likewise, may properly be aided by contributions from the Diaspora for expenditures, both as capital outlay and for running expenses. The research incident to a new country—the knowledge of its resources,—its possibilities—defects and diseases and how to deal with them,—is absolutely an expense proper to be borne by the community. It is an outlay demanded by a prudent administration of the Government. It should properly be borne by the Government of Palestine. But many new countries cannot afford such prudent expenditures, i. e., cannot bear the burden of taxation which would be involved in providing by taxation of a sparse and struggling

population to the extent required to meet cost of such research. Poverty in such cases may compel a country to be wastefully ignorant. Moneys for this purpose must, unless there is to be a very slow growth of the desired knowledge of local conditions and needs, be provided from without.

To a certain extent money required for educating individuals, particularly in higher education and for vocational training may properly be so provided also. But narrow limits must, in this respect, and for the reasons following, be strictly observed.

D. *The development* which is our objective is impossible except through a manly, self-supporting population. The conditions requiring speedy settlement, taken in connection with the character and conditions of the country above set forth, prevent our securing such a population by the process of letting the settlers shift wholly for themselves so that only the fittest would survive and of relying upon the old common incentive of striving for a fortune to induce the requisite sacrifices. We are compelled by the present conditions of the country and political requirements to create ourselves those new conditions under which self-support can alone become possible. But in doing so we must be careful to go no step further, otherwise we shall demoralize our settlers and make success not only impossible but also develop a population of undesirables. Our care must, therefore, be to determine in what respect aid may be given without sapping independence and preventing or destroying the prevalence of manly self-reliance on the part of the individual settlers.

To me it seems that we may go so far as to provide the

new conditions and facilities above outlined, but not a hair's breadth further. That is, we may supply land, water, health, afforestation, credit facilities, some dwellings, institutions for necessary research and a limited amount of education, without necessarily debilitating and demoralizing the inhabitants. We cannot attain our objective of a manly self-supporting population unless the settlers are made to realize that they must, and unless they actually do incur, in some form, hardships equivalent to those incurred by hardy pioneers in other lands. These hardships will be of a different character, but must be equally severe if we are to succeed. The slogan must be: "No easy money in Palestine," and "No easy living," for any human being. And the Zionist official must set the example in simple living, high thinking and hard work.

E. *Immigration.* It is clear that the Zionist Organization, as such, should not grant any financial aid, directly or indirectly, to effect any immigration to Palestine. But it is not clear that it may not properly grant certain temporary aid to those who actually reach the country. It is, however, highly desirable that the Zionist Organization of America, in particular, should not undertake to grant such aid, unless it became absolutely necessary that it do so. It would be much better, for instance, to have any such aid granted through the Joint Distribution Committee and let the World Zionist Organization and that of America confine themselves to work for immediate constructive measures in the upbuilding of the country. In other words, if it could possibly be managed, the task of caring for the immigrant from his arrival until he is absorbed in the industrial, agricultural or commercial life

of the country had better be assumed by some other organization. This is perhaps not logical, but the dangers attendant upon the other course are very great. On the other hand, it may be advisable to undertake some definite agricultural projects, by which immigrants may be permanently absorbed. We are committed to making a success of Balfouria. Experience gained in that project and that to be gained elsewhere in other land cultivation projects may show the way to that successful industrial agriculture which should be developed by us in Palestine. It is politically and socially important that Palestine should become largely self-sufficient.

F. *The Palestine Government* under the High Commissioner is about to issue a *Palestine National Loan* of £2,500,000. It is imperative for the success of the entire work that this be promptly and widely subscribed for. American Jewry must do its share. And to this, the Zionist Organization, cooperating with all others interested in the development of Palestine, must at once devote all its energies.

G. *Funds.* It follows from the foregoing statement of objectives that the Zionist Organization may properly undertake to raise funds for the following purposes:

A. Investments

1. Palestinian Government Loan.
2. Jewish Colonial Trust, Anglo-Palestine Company and a Land Mortgage Bank.

B. Quasi Investment

3. Zion Commonwealth.
4. Stock of Hydro-Electric Power, Light, Irrigation, and Drainage Plant.
5. Dwelling Projects.
6. Certain Agricultural Undertakings.

C. Gifts For

7. Medical Unit.
8. Research in aid of Palestine, Applied Science.
9. Afforestation.
10. University, Libraries, Museums and the like.
11. Land Purchase.
12. Current Educational Needs, limited in extent, leaving a large part of the educational burden on the Palestinians.

H. *Application of funds.* Insofar as we undertake to solicit funds for any purpose, we must undertake to see that they are properly applied. If, and so far as may be necessary for that, we must make the application through companies, boards or officials controlled by us. But it is to be hoped that such an improvement in administration by the World Organization may soon be effected, that this special action may not be necessary generally.

Those who contribute funds to any of these purposes must have the assurance that all the funds they so contribute will be applied to the purpose for which they have been specifically contributed, whether as an investment or as a gift. To this end all funds required for

1. Administration expenses of the World Zionist Organization in all of its activities whether in Palestine or in the Diaspora must be covered by the Shekolim.

2. Administration of the Zionist Organization of America and of local organizations must be raised by membership fees or specific gifts for purposes of administration and propaganda.

3. No part of the money contributed by way of investment or gift should be used in defraying the expenses incurred in raising the money unless the part so to be used shall be clearly set forth in the prospectus in advance of any collection and there must at all times be full and frequent accounting.

I. *The instrumentalities* by which these special functions to be undertaken directly or indirectly through Zionist efforts should be operated, must differ according to the needs of the service undertaken. For instance, there should be a competent and devoted Board of Trustees formed, who will be responsible to the Zionist Organization of America and the Joint Distribution Committee for the work of the Medical Unit.

J. *Reorganization:* I purposely abstain from considering the form which the reorganized Zionist Organization of America is to take for the very obvious reason that this raises many complicated and different issues. The solution of the reorganization problems can only come through the deliberations of a small working committee who will consider all the proposals that may be submitted and draft a maturely considered plan for action by the Executive Committee. However, the char-

acter of the reorganization will, of course, seek to meet the new problems confronting the organization. Inevitably, the form of reorganization to be involved must be such as to enable us effectively to meet the practical problems confronting the Zionists in the concrete and pressing reestablishment of Palestine. The form of the organization must translate into actualities the phrase used by all of us that "we have reached the parting of the ways"; that we are no longer a propaganda movement except the propaganda that comes from undertaking and achieving concrete enterprises.

K. *Cooperation.* Furthermore, we must never lose sight of the fact that our plans should be such as to elicit the full cooperation of all Jews, those who do not want to build up the Zionist Organization but who do want to share with the Zionist Organization in the upbuilding of Palestine.

V. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINE 1921–24

Following the action of the Zionist Convention at Cleveland, the first general meeting of the supporters of an economic development of Palestine was held at the office of Nathan Straus, in New York City, June 10, 1921. Judge Julian W. Mack presided. Brandeis outlined, in this address, the policy which he proposed for adoption.

SOCIAL ECONOMIC POLICY

On the question of what we are to do—the objective—I think there can be no doubt. Our purpose has been, and of course will continue to be, to develop Palestine as a Jewish Homeland. All that we do will be directed to that one end.

We are from now on to free ourselves from all entanglements in order that we may the sooner accomplish that end. By making our effort simple and direct, we can work to attain that end with the least possible embarrassment. We shall, of course, remain members of the Zionist Organization of America. But we are supporters of an administration whose policies and principles have been repudiated. Those represented by the new administration we believe to be wrong. The differences between us are fundamental. As long as the new officers pursue policies and methods which we deem to be wrong we cannot share in their work. The responsibility is theirs.

We should do nothing that in any way hampers them in the performance of the duties assumed. Our purpose is to go forward directly and affirmatively, to do specific things which we think ought to be done in Palestine in order to advance its development. The program, both for action and for non-action is thus simple. For action, it is a program of selecting through proper means, the several things that we want to do; to do those things, not talk about doing them; and to do nothing else. For non-action our program involves the absolute abjuring and rejection of everything in the way of politics.

We are a minority fraction. We do not seek to be a minority party. We should have nothing whatever to do with the political management either of the American or of the World Organization. Nor should we attempt to direct the forces of either organization. These are matters in the hands of the majority. We do not represent American Zionists. We accept the vote of the convention as expressing the will of the Americans. Those whom the delegates have selected as their officers and Executive Committee are the legally elected representatives of the American Zionists and will represent the American Zionists in the World Congress. As long as they represent the American Zionists we shall have nothing whatever to do with any political questions. Politics is their function and they must deal with it. Our business is to do some definite practical work in Palestine.

When I say that we should take no part in the management of the organization I include not only the activities of the National Executive, but also those of subordinate societies or committees, national or local, however small the community, so far as these are subject

to the directions of the National Executive. We should resign from every such office we now hold, because, those who hold such offices should be in sympathy with and absolutely loyal and obedient to their superior officers. Because our differences are fundamental, we must content ourselves with being loyal privates, with being merely members of the Zionist Organization. The offices vacated may thus be filled by those who are in unqualified sympathy with the officers who have been elected by the Convention.

As to our own work—the development of Palestine by specific practical undertakings—I suggest, as an example of what I mean, that we revert to a project which was for some time under consideration by the National Executive's Palestine Committee. The formation of a cooperative wholesale organization with a view to enabling the people of Palestine to procure the necessaries of life at the lowest possible cost. That is practical work which should help every man and woman in Palestine who is seeking to earn a living, for it would help to bring down the cost of living to as low a point as possible. It is a project free from politics except in the sense that any action which may advance the interests of a people is statesmanship. The cooperative society can be formed, as any other organization might in Palestine, by those residents of Palestine who choose to connect themselves with it, either by putting in money or by buying goods from it. The undertaking does not involve so large a sum of money but that we can look forward to raising the necessary capital in a very short time and sending with the money competent persons to Palestine to see that the organization is started and set going. I suggest this project merely

as an illustration of the kind of thing that we can do without involving ourselves either in any political alliance or in any political antagonism. It could not embarrass the work of the World Organization, or of the Zionist Commission or of the Zionist Organization of America.

If you think well of this suggestion, that project might be made the first of our undertakings. What amount of money would be required I am unable to say. I am told that probably $250,000 would be all that would be needed at the start. A small part of that amount is already available. The quicker we raise the required capital the better. Perhaps it could be done within thirty days. Then we should send our representatives to Palestine to put this wholesale cooperative into operation. That accomplished, we should take up another project, whatever that next might be and whether it involved $200,000 or $500,000. Thus we should set ourselves for the modest task of doing a few specific things out of the hundreds that ought to be done in order to develop Palestine.

Everyone who believes as we do in the performance of definite practical work, would have the opportunity of joining with us. How shall we proceed to get others to join? We are not forming another society or party. We are not secessionists. We are Zionists who want to perform some practical work. The time when talking was the needed Zionist work ended quite a while ago. Our task is to approach Jews who feel as we do and afford them the opportunity of action on the lines indicated. It is for us to devise the means for executing projects, to devise an instrument of administration, which shall be the most economical and efficient possible; economical

and efficient both in collecting money and in the spending. We must, in seeking associates, be extremely careful to avoid even the appearance of forming an outside organization. It must be made perfectly clear that what we are attempting is merely to create an instrument through which we and others can act in carrying out our purpose of practical work in developing Palestine.

Probably the most effective way of creating an efficient, inexpensive instrument would be the formation of what might be called the "Palestine Development Trust"—a trust into which funds collected for specific purposes would be paid and by which they would be held subject to the direction of the trustees. If, for instance, we raise $250,000 for the wholesale cooperative, we would pay over the amount to this trust and the Board of Trustees would undertake to see that that money is properly applied to the specific project. Contributors should know that the money they provide would be expended for the designated purpose and for nothing else.

Provision should, I think, be made so that the expenses of that Trust would be paid, not out of the funds collected for productive purposes, but out of funds collected otherwise for administrative purposes. Thus a person who gives a thousand dollars for the wholesale cooperative organization, for instance, would know that his thousand dollars will be paid into the wholesale cooperative and not one cent applied to any other purpose.

The central office of the trust should be in New York.

As to the rest of the country, we should have as little in the way of organization and expenses as it is humanly possible to have. Everybody who contributes to the trust funds money to be spent in Palestine for constructive

purposes, would have the opportunity of saying to what project the contributions should be applied and how the money should be raised. The trustees might advise, but the character of the undertakings should be left to the determination of those persons in the different communities who are specially interested in them. If, for instance, people in Akron should desire to establish a particular project in Palestine, they should, by some committee of their own, arrange to raise the money, and should transmit the money when raised to the trust. Thus, instead of putting the responsibility for the success of a collection in a central body, it should devolve upon the Jews of several communities, acting separately or by arrangement with one another. Those in each such community who desire to participate in this constructive work would know best how to reach their townsmen. The aim of the central body will be to make it possible for men and women who sympathize with the objects we have in view, to cooperate to that end. And for this purpose it will keep in close touch with the local groups and give information and advice in regard to plans and projects.

The speed with which we get through one specific task will determine the time when we take up the next. We should make neither promises nor prophecies, but very modest attempts to further the cause by practical work. I hope that what we may do will prove to be a substantial contribution to the development of the Homeland.

CONFIDENCE IN PALESTINE

The second annual conference of the Palestine Development Council and of the Palestine Development Leagues

took place in New York City, on May 27th and 28, 1923. Brandeis delivered two addresses. The first, "Confidence in Palestine," at a luncheon at which Hon. Nathan Straus, Jr., presided; the second, "Men as Natural Resources," during a debate on the natural resources of Palestine.

Four years ago I visited Palestine accompanied by Jacob de Haas. Since then, I have never doubted for a moment that what we are striving for can be accomplished. Since then, my difficulty has been in understanding the doubt which others feel. If any of you harbor a doubt, go see for yourselves; and the doubt will be dispelled.

The truth of Herzl's statement, "We have but to will it," impressed itself upon me at every point. Whether Jews really care for Palestine—care so much that they will put their hearts, and if need be their lives, into the solution of the Jewish problem, that is, in my opinion, the only question open. For the opportunity is here. Doubters are not doubters of Palestine. They are doubters of Jews.

The land is an inspiration to effort. It is an inspiration not only because of its past and its associations; but because the present urges one on to make it bloom again, —bloom not only physically, but spiritually. To accomplish that, we must care. We must be willing to enter upon a great adventure; must conceive of the life worth while as something other than the humdrum everyday existence to which so many of us are condemned, or rather, condemn ourselves. If, in our lives, we want something beside the commonplace, if we want adventure, if we want romance, if we want the elevation which attends intellectual and spiritual striving; if we want the deeper satis-

faction of having aided in making this world and our own people better and happier, we must put our minds on what we can aid in doing there. If we cannot take a direct part within Palestine, if circumstances are such that we cannot go to the battle front, let us make sure that somebody else goes, in whose work we will interest ourselves, and in whose trials and ultimate successes we have some part.

Do we Jews care enough for the things worth while in life to take the necessary part in that adventure? That is the question. Do we care enough, not only to grudgingly contribute some money, but to be a part of the undertaking? To be a part of it we need not be physically in Palestine, although for many that is the best place in which to do their part and the most satisfactory one.

What is it that we who remain in the Diaspora can do? How can we contribute directly by our hands and brains, and above all through character, to Palestine's development? We can, in the first place, know what is to be done, know what is being done, know how it is being done; and know by whom it is being done. Knowledge, which grows with what it feeds on, will stimulate effort, will beget achievement. Knowledge, if comprehensive, detailed and accurate, is indeed power. To attain knowledge in this, as in other fields, requires work. Knowledge has its source in interest, but it can be attained only through persistent pursuit. It is not something which may be had easily. Like all the other good things achieved in life, knowledge has to be toiled for. It is only by knowing intimately, and following from day to day, the upbuilding of Palestine and the development of the Jewish life as manifested there, that you can

feel the deep interest and experience, the joy and satisfaction incident to this new growth of our people. Palestine offers us the deep interest and the joy like that which all the world feels in the development of a child,—an interest and a joy infinitely greater than that which attends the achievement of those who have reached maturity.

The great opportunity is here. The question is: What shall we do with it? Surely we will avail ourselves of it to the utmost. When I have felt a lack among those with whom I have worked, it has consisted less in unwillingness to make what some erroneously call sacrifices than in failure to acquire that intimate knowledge of the details about Palestine's needs and conditions which are an essential of both good judgment and a real joy in our high adventure. For this deep joy can be achieved only through patient persistent effort;—and by reserving our resources of time and of money, for the things in life worth while. So the first thing is to know. The second is to do. We do by being a part of doing. Don't take merely a passive interest. Don't try to find out whether you have done what people call your share. Your share is to do your utmost. And you will find that the appetite grows with what it feeds on. When you approach the matter in this spirit, the question will surely be: "What further can I do?"

The P. D. C. was organized to create an instrument by which those Jews, who are not so fortunate as to be able to take a direct part in the upbuilding of Palestine through settling there, may effectively aid in carrying the work forward by their contributions made here of money and of time. The P. D. C. is only an instrument for doing things. The thing that it plans to do is not the extending

of charity; it is the upbuilding of Palestine by creating opportunities through which a people worthy of Palestine may develop it by activities there. Familiarize yourself with the work of this instrument. And familiarize yourself with all things Palestinian so that you may aid in extending its effectiveness.

We must remember that it is Palestine we are engaged in upbuilding, not another United States. The standard of accomplishment is a very different one from the standard which we are accustomed to apply here. Some say: "How can you expect success in so small a country?" To my mind, the smallness of the country contributes greatly to the probability of complete success. The problems are all compassable. None is so big in bulk, so complex, that wee man seems inadequate for the task. For this reason, achievement is always in sight. The assurance that success appears thus possible is one of the things which makes work in Palestine, and work for Palestine so alluring. Bear in mind also that the money we invest in this adventure would not be lost if it makes possible the worthy life there and the development of the country which we strive for, even if the receipt of dividends in money on our investment were less probable. Whether the thing we strive for is achieved—not whether dividends are paid in cash on the amount expended—is the test of a good investment. We are prone to think of America as the home of good investments. But nobody who has looked into American industrial and financial development can fail to know that, with the exception perhaps of the automobile and a few other recent industries, there has been hardly a single field of great business success in the United States, which does not rest on a

foundation of failures. Almost every enterprise in the United States, with the exception of the Great Northern, is built upon a failure. The Atchison, Topeka, Sante Fe, and the Northern Pacific are outstanding instances of successful American railroads. But despite the rich land grants made by the government, both the Atchison and the Northern Pacific went through two receiverships. Stockholders and bondholders who lacked faith to pay burdensome assessments, or were unable to do so, lost all or much of what they personally had invested. This is true also of the original investors in the heavily subsidized Union Pacific. Most of America's 250,000 miles of railroad have a similar history. But they were great factors in our prosperity. When we think now of American successes, we think not of our beginnings but of the flowers in full bloom. Bear that in mind when you apply a test to our Palestinian undertakings.

The thing that the Palestine Development Council has been primarily endeavoring to do with such funds as have come to it for investment, is to make sure that the money which goes to Palestine shall be used to upbuild the country; that whether used for building loans or for the Rutenberg project, or for other projects—it shall promote the growth of the country; that it shall make possible that life, spiritual as well as material, without which we cannot conceive of the longed-for Homeland.

In the task of establishing a Homeland worthy of the highest Jewish ideals every man and woman can aid and aid effectively, if he or she will only bear in mind, what it is that we wish to accomplish; and will make the daily contribution requisite to that accomplishment. I mean literally that we must give some aid each day. Why should

we, who care for the development of Palestine, let a day pass without increasing our knowledge of Palestine, and at least thinking in what way we may do something to advance its development?

One hears of difficulties, of discouraging incidents, in Palestine. The discouragements of which people talk do not discourage me. It is only he who keeps the mind's eye too near to the object, instead of looking afar into the future, who will be greatly disturbed by a particular failure or even a disgrace. Look courageously into the future, be it near or far. Above all things, go to Palestine, and from its hilltops look off into the distance and see what the land is and what it offers. Then you will not doubt. And you will feel that no effort is too great.

We are trying to build a new land. When Americans think of building a new land, at least those of us who have lived in New England, are apt to think of the Pilgrim Fathers. We remember what their adventure was and what they builded. The Pilgrims had faith, we should have it. Like our early Palestinian pioneers, they did not allow themselves to be discouraged even by the death of half their number before the first year of settlement was over. Disease, death and sore trials were borne and put behind them. For the Pilgrims had the indomitable spirit. In time, Massachusetts became one of the most prosperous regions on earth. The same spirit which brought the Pilgrim west is the spirit which has sent many a Jew to the east, and should send many, many more. But those of us who remain behind may have an effective part in the building as well as those who have gone to the front. Let us persevere with redoubled energy. There is no place on earth in which your effort may bring to you and to

others worthier rewards. Don't be discouraged. Don't be afraid.

MEN AS NATURAL RESOURCES

Let me call attention to a fact, which modesty has prevented Julius Fohs from mentioning. The greatest of all Palestinian resources is the human resource; I mean this not only spiritually, but economically. If you inquire into the history of the really great businesses which stand as examples of signal successes in America, you will find that in most cases the success is to be attributed mainly to the character, the ingenuity and the persistence of the man who established the business rather than to favorable external or local conditions. Again and again I have asked in some American city: "Why in the world should this great industry have been established in this particular place?" seeing that it was remote from both the sources of its raw materials and from the markets for its products. And the answer has come back, "An extraordinary man happened to live here." A man, of brains and of will, determined that an industry should be established. Creation followed the will; and a century or less of wise persistence developed the small shop into one of the controlling industries of the nation. Such successes, almost without limit, we may look for in Palestine. The Jew, who has so often made bricks without straw will find a way to take up in Palestine those industries in which brains and the work of man are the chief elements in making the product. Remember that even in the massive locomotive, the metal used represents hardly one-twentieth of the cost. It is the skilled labor, invention, management

and capital which represent the main elements of cost. What may we not expect from the Jewish mind, the Jewish persistence, Jewish ingenuity and Jewish capital, when employed in a country which is congenial, in a climate which is admirable and in surroundings which will call out the best that is in men.

TAKING THE INITIATIVE IN PALESTINE

At an informal conference of the New England members of the Palestine Development League held at the Elysium Club, Boston, in the summer of 1923, Brandeis delivered this address on the need for Jews taking the initiative in Palestinian work.

I am glad that, besides some older Zionists, we have sitting here many others, men and women who are far younger. For it is through these younger folk, aided by the older, that we shall find the full realization of our plans. To some of you it may seem that our progress has not been rapid, but when you compare where we are today, and where we stood ten years ago, when I first spoke to Boston Jews about Palestine, you will see how long a way we have traveled. Ten years ago the Homeland was a dream—a dream for which realization seemed so far. Then, we could do little more than hope and prepare ourselves for realization. Five years ago, with the Balfour Declaration, that dream began to take on the shape of opportunity. Now, for over four years the opportunity has been ours. The question is merely whether we shall take hold in that earnest, effective, and intelligent way which will make out of that opportunity, the realization of our fondest dream. We know that much has

not been done, but we know very much that has. What has been accomplished is not merely opportunity. The first steps towards the achievement of realization have been taken. We have found in Palestine not merely an open door, but a country in which all is possible which we had pictured to ourselves as desirable.

It is now just four years since de Haas and I went together to Palestine. I had read much about it, heard much about it from those who had been there, and reasoned much about it. But it was only by going there that I could convince myself in fullness how much was open to us and why we should endeavor to work out the problem, not as a dream, but as a beautiful reality. I found difficulties, but the difficulties were inviting because in respect to every one of them solution seemed to be possible. To my mind, there is nothing about the Palestinian problem which the Jews cannot solve, if they will to solve it. To solve it, we do not require the superhuman effort of extraordinary individuals. We need only the everyday earnest effort which Jews are making, and by which they are achieving successes in other fields of activity all over the world. If that persistence, devotion and ingenuity, the readiness of self-sacrifice and the self-control which have given Jews high station individually in every branch of human activity and in every country on earth is practiced by the individuals who go to Palestine, and is manifested by those who have an interest in Palestine but remain elsewhere, there is nothing in a worthy Palestine life which cannot be realized.

None of the pictures which have been painted exhaust the possibilities which actually exist. But realization will not come as a gift; and it cannot come by the mere giv-

ing of money. It must be earned,—earned by effort, earned by a persistent, active desire to have and to hold that which lies before us. Some are making that effort on the fighting lines and are taking part there happily and effectively in the upbuilding of Palestine. Some who have gone from America have played a most creditable, as well as interesting part in that effort. Many of you know what the Hadassah Medical Unit has been doing. It undertook to make health possible in Palestine. And it really was not a difficult problem. For the lack of health was largely due to malaria. Happily, science enables us to grapple with this disease which had devastated many countries of the world for thousands of years. We know how to rid a land of it. It is a perfectly simple thing, a thing almost as simple as the removal of typhoid which once was a curse in so many of our cities. The Medical Unit, in connection with others, undertook to eliminate malaria.

It did so not only because malaria interfered with the joy of life, but because it is the disease which interfered most with self-support and the building up of the country. There remains some malaria in parts of the country. But that problem is being grappled with and in a very few years Palestine will be one of the healthiest countries in the world. For otherwise all the conditions in Palestine are conducive to a healthy life in body as well as soul. One may go to Palestine now and settle there with the assurance that he will be able to work as well there as he could work in any part of the world.

To have assured, within four years, the elimination of malaria is a great achievement. For hard work is the stuff out of which Palestine must be built. Not Halukkah, not

gifts, whatever their nature, but the ability to make men self-supporting is the prime requisite. They must develop themselves and their families in the course of the development of their country. For immigrants into Palestine to become self-supporting is, in some ways, more difficult than it was for those coming to America, or going to Canada, or Australia, or South America. It is more difficult for this reason. America and Canada, South America and Australia were new countries with virgin soil. Palestine is a new-old country. Old in having suffered for centuries from abuse. Its wonderful trees had been destroyed. Its water-courses had suffered from the destruction of trees. Its fertile land no longer protected by the trees had been washed away by the flow of the waters. Thus Palestine presents a new situation. I mean new to us, whose minds are accustomed to such things as the frontiersman, going out to build his hut with his own hand, with the expectation that next year, or the year after, it will be superseded by something better. Palestine is not like that. You must build homes for people and they must be built substantially, of stone, or cement, at a considerable cost. The slight structure which frontiersmen built in other countries is not feasible. So we have in Palestine the housing problem.

We have had in Palestine another problem which was very serious. The cost of living is very high; higher there in many ways than here. The war made it so; with its great influx of gold through Egypt Jews coming there from different parts of the world, largely impoverished, came thus into a country in which the cost of the bare necessaries of life was great. We were, therefore, confronted with this problem. How can we make it possible

for these people going to this sparsely settled land to supply themselves with homes and to get a living from farms which they must first bring to a state of development? In many places in Palestine you must make the land as well as raise the crops upon it. Moreover, it will be seven years from the time you plant your orange trees before you get a return. Just as water is necessary for irrigation, credit is necessary there to enable people to conduct their business operations, to become self-supporting. We turned our minds, therefore, to devising instruments through which credits might be extended to deserving men and women, not as gifts, not as charity, but to enable them to make a living. The Palestine Cooperative Company undertook to deal with that question in two ways. To provide loans to cooperative societies of producers or consumers and to provide building loans for those who undertake the construction.

These are examples of the kind of things the Palestine Development Council wishes to promote. It wishes also to aid in the development of the Rutenberg project, the so-called hydro-electric plan for harnessing the Jordan to give power and irrigation to different parts of the country. Everything that we have undertaken to do has been directly in the line of production, in the effort to make men and women effective. To give opportunity to the individual just as the Mandate has given an opportunity to the Jews of the world to make Palestine a Homeland.

In our efforts to develop a self-supporting population our prime endeavor is to encourage initiative. It is not our brains, but the brains of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who are to go to Palestine, who will build up that

country. What we are endeavoring to encourage is not something new. It is exactly the thing which Jews are doing elsewhere throughout the world. We want only those who feel that they have both the longing and the capacity, to go there. Some who have gone from America are working out, on the spot, the interesting and soul-satisfying problem of making a Jewish home in Palestine. Those of us who do not wish to go, or cannot, may also have a vital part in that undertaking. But it cannot be done merely by giving money, or by investing money. To have a vital part we must add to investment, and in many cases, preceding investment, a willingness to take the trouble to know what the needs of Palestine are and how they are being, or should be, met. To achieve for Palestine what the American Jew can do for Palestine, and what Palestine can do for the American Jew, we must make Palestine a part of the daily thought of the Jew. There are ample means of knowing and the happenings there are intensely interesting to every Jew who makes the effort to familiarize himself with what is being accomplished. You will find the problems of this new-old land as interesting as the doings of your children over whose growth you watch.

We are not asking you to give. We expect you to get a return on your investment—a return in money. But the greatest return which you will get is in the joy you will have in watching the development of the country, to which that investment relates. If you do that your own mind will be set to work to aid. And when good fortune leads you to Palestine, and you see what Jews are doing there, when you see the Jews who have lived there long enough to develop what Jewish life really is,—what it makes of

men and women and children in a Jewish country,—then you will get satisfactions which will make you think that dividends in cash are a negligible part of your investment in Palestine. But first make it your business to know what is going on there, know what has been done. Then confirm and enrich your knowledge so far as may be within your power, by going there and seeing for yourselves. If you do these things you will enjoy the greatest experience of your life.

SELF-HELP IN PALESTINE

The first meeting of the New York City and Brooklyn members of the Palestine Development League was held at the office of Nathan Straus in New York, September 6, 1923. Brandeis delivered this address on the policy to be pursued by the members of the organization.

I think there is no one here who if he or she will give the necessary time and thought cannot understand fully the problems which the Palestine Development Council has before it. For the trustees of the Council there arise some very difficult questions of judgment. There are some extremely difficult questions of detail. There are some very serious responsibilities in the selection of men to carry out the work which the trustees must assume. As in other great enterprises, it requires judgment, study of detail and experience in the selection of men, to conduct the affairs of the Council well. But I do not think it is difficult to grasp those fundamentals in regard to Palestine development which are needed to enable each and every one of you to interest other people in Palestine and to get them to help in the Council's undertakings. The

prime requisite for each of you is determination; not determination exercised in action or study once a week, once a fortnight, or once a month. It needs the determination to say: "I will understand these matters so that I can answer any objection that is made." The problems are perfectly simple.

Everybody here will agree, I think, that we cannot carry out our idea of a Homeland except through a self-supporting and self-respecting population of Jews in Palestine. That being so, you must learn to know what the conditions are under which men and women can earn their living in Palestine. You must know something about Palestine; must know, among other things, the differences between Palestine and the United States. There is a land, rich in possibilities, but very poor in present actualities, because of centuries of abuse. It has been devastated. The cutting of the trees throughout the land has brought with it swamps and malaria, and the washing away of a great deal of soil. Now, what are the essentials of self-support in Palestine? Men and women cannot be self-supporting unless it is possible to live there in health. The prevalence of malaria makes hard, steady, effective work impossible. It was necessary in the first place, to get rid of malaria, and to provide treatment for the ordinary diseases that affect mankind. That was the specific problem, not merely as an act of mercy but necessary in order that men and women may become self-supporting. That essential has been secured through the Hadassah and the Palestine Medical Department. The second essential is shelter—a home to live in. And as the lack of trees in Palestine prevents men from building their own log cabins there must be built at considerable cost houses of

stone or cement. As many of the immigrants are without the money necessary to pay for their houses, the Council has established the Building and Loan Association, in order that the money may be had on reasonable terms: For private money lenders are charging exorbitant rates of interest. Third, for most men or women who engage in business—be it farming, manufacturing or trading, some credit is necessary. That is why the various credit organizations have been furthered by the P. D. C.

There are other essentials. Palestine is a country in which there is water, enough for agricultural and other purposes, but the water has largely to be brought to the surface. The land must be irrigated. As in Southern California the water must be made to do duty. Some may be brought from the Jordan. But the greater part of the water of Palestine is down beneath the soil, perhaps 10 or 50 feet or 150 feet below the surface. It has to be pumped up. You can pump with oil, or other power. But the way to pump in Palestine is to harness the Jordan in order to bring the water to the surface; and to use the power otherwise; to run the wheels of factories; to give light and heat where they are needed. Therefore, the P. D. C. has interested itself in the Rutenberg project.

All these things are simple to understand. You understand these needs as soon as you begin to think of them; and you realize at once that to provide those essentials of a self-supporting people in Palestine, you must secure efficient management. Not political management, but business management.

The whole purpose in organizing the Palestine De-

velopment Council was to aid in providing these essentials of self-support in the Homeland.

The special features of the several enterprises promoted by the Palestine Development Council involve detail of some intricacy. But there is nothing in respect to any of them which you cannot understand if you will give your minds to the subject. And when you fully understand them you will be able to make others understand that the things which must be done if Palestine is to be developed, we are trying to do; and when they understand this they will be glad to contribute. There is not a person here who cannot understand the situation fully, and every person who does, can alone get, in a reasonable time, at least twenty-five others who will come into the organization because the others will want to help.

But to produce these results, you must exert yourselves. You must not let a day pass without thinking of "this year in Jerusalem." Every time you meet a Jew, you must regard him as a prospect. And let no hopeful man or woman escape. You cannot expect committees or executive officers to do much for you. The first thing to do is to find out about things you don't know. Then you will feel that you care enough to be able to talk to others. If an objection is raised, you doubtless will find that that same objection was made before, that the supposed difficulty has long since been realized and a solution exists.

Men often come together for a meeting in a good cause and think, as did the man who gave a thirty-day note for a debt: "Thank God, that debt is paid." The duty to Palestine of members of this organization cannot be performed in that way.

PALESTINE THE ONLY ANSWER

February 17, 1924, a conference, primarily of non-Zionists, was held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, to discuss the formation of an Investment Corporation for Palestine, and the participation of American Jews in the Jewish Agency. In connection with the conference Brandeis wrote the following letter from Washington, D. C., on Feb. 14.

My dear de Haas:

I assume you will attend the Conference called for the 17th. Please say this for me.

The happenings of the post-war years have strengthened my conviction that the resettlement of Palestine by Jews offers the only promising road toward the solution of the Jewish problem; that there are in Palestine economic opportunities which if availed of, will afford to, at least, many hundreds of thousands the means of leading lives worthy of the high Jewish traditions; that there rests upon the Jews of America the duty of aiding in the upbuilding by making careful studies of these opportunities, by necessary capital outlays, and by efficient leadership; and that with such aid we may hope for great advance in the economic, social, and cultural development of the country.